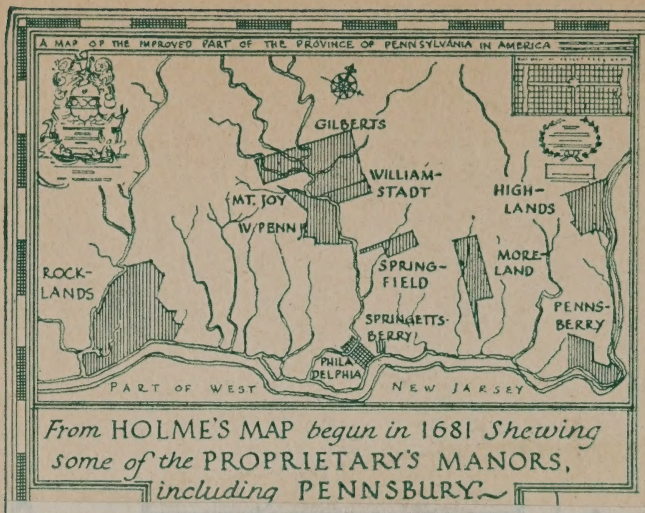
CUM CLAVUM TENEAM
William Penn Esq: Proprietor
of Pensylvania: 1703



From HOLME'S MAP *begun in* 1681 *Shewing some of the* PROPRIETARY'S MANORS, *including* PENNSBURY.

Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY

PRESENTED BY

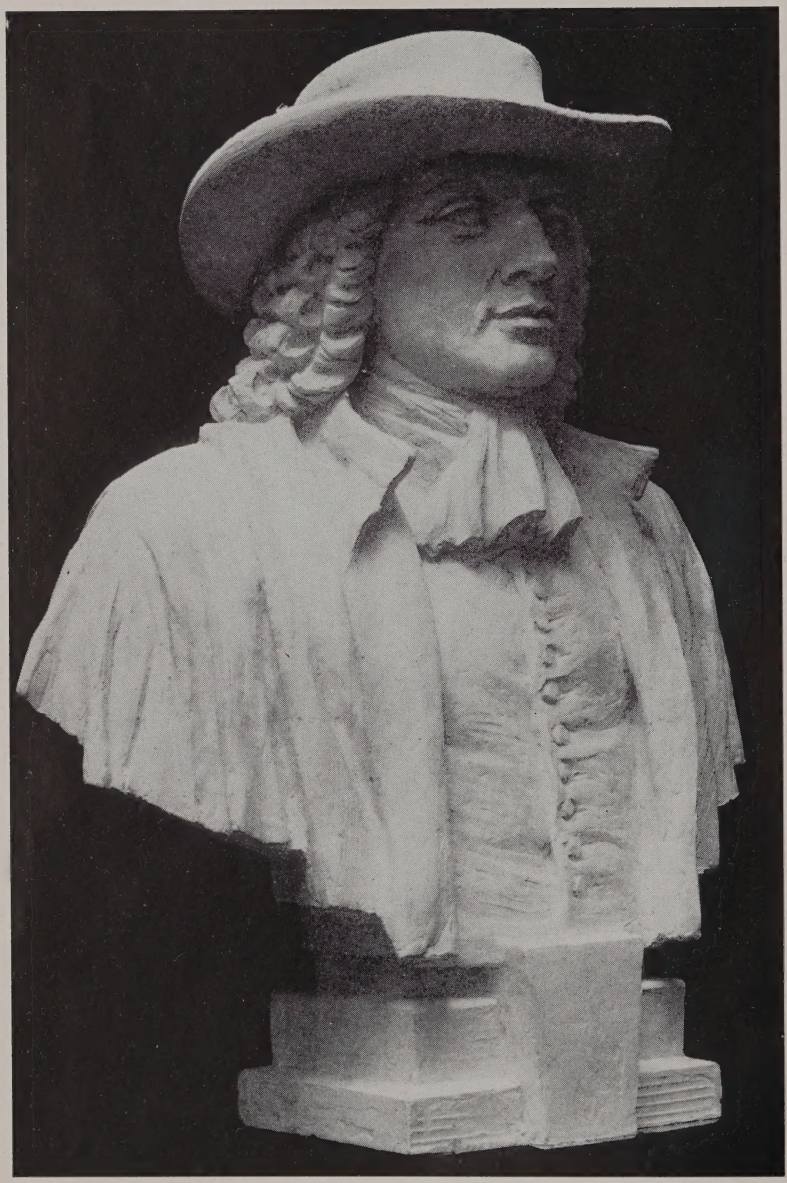
The William Penn
Tercentenary Committee

F 152.2 .R4 1944

Remember William Penn, 1644-1944

PENNSBURY MANOR WAS PLANNED AND BEGUN BY WILLIAM PENN, AS HIS COUNTRY HOME IN 1683, WITH MANOR HOUSE, ESSENTIAL OUTBUILDINGS, STABLE, LAWN AND GARDENS BEAUTIFULLY LAID OUT. REMOTE FROM THE YOUNG CITY AFTER THE PROPRIETOR'S FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1701, ITS FURNITURE WAS SCATTERED AND IT FELL INTO COMPLETE DISREPAIR. EXCAVATIONS WERE MADE, STUDIES INSTITUTED, ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS CAREFULLY WORKED OUT AND RESTORATION WAS BEGUN IN 1938, UNDER THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

A Visit to Pennsbury Brings Back the Home Setting of the Founder and Proprietor as Nothing Else Can Do. Pennsbury Is Conveniently Reached by U. S. Route 13 Through Bristol and Tullytown, Then Following Signs. The Distance from Philadelphia City Hall to Pennsbury Is About Thirty Miles. This Map Is Contributed for the William Penn Tercentenary Memorial Book by THE WELCOME SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Whose Members Are Descendants of "Those Who Came to America in the Good Ship WELCOME in Company with William Penn the Founder of Pennsylvania, Who Arrived in October, 1682."



Bust of William Penn

By courtesy of the Hall of Fame, New York University. Sculptor, A. Sterling Calder; unveiled May 28, 1936.

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
JAN 6
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Pennsylvania. William Penn
tercentenary committee.

Remember William Penn

1644-1944

The general responsibility for the publication of

REMEMBER WILLIAM PENN

was assumed by the Editorial Committee appointed by the William Penn Tercentenary Committee, consisting of William W. Comfort, Francis B. Haas, Gregg L. Neel and Stanley R. Yarnall.

The Committee acknowledges with appreciation the cooperation of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for generously placing its resources and collections at the service of the Committee.

It thanks the Pennsylvania Historical Commission for the services of its staff members. Mr. Donald H. Kent, a member of the staff, wrote the chapters on "William Penn, the Defender of Freedom" and "William Penn, the Builder of States."

The Committee expresses especial appreciation of the editorial work done on the rest of the book by Miss Avis Mary Custis Cauley, Assistant State Historian, and of her unfailing care and cooperation.

Members of

THE WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE

1944

EDWARD MARTIN, Governor of Pennsylvania

Honorary Chairman

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GREGG L. NEEL
EDWARD E. WILDMAN
ROSS P. WRIGHT

This Committee was appointed by Governor Martin on March 21, in order to give appropriate honor to the memory of the Founder of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the Tercentenary of his birth, October 24, 1944.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1944

In the Name and by Authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

PROCLAMATION

William Penn Day

Whereas, Tuesday, October 24, 1944, marks the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Penn, Quaker Founder and Proprietor of our great Commonwealth, and one of the truly great men of history who symbolized by his beliefs and deeds the hope of the human race for a better world; and

Whereas, The tercentenary of the birth of the Founder of Pennsylvania is a fitting time to pay more than the customary annual homage to the memory of one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment and vision as a statesman of the common weal render him an outstanding figure among the builders of states, and whose life and teachings provided many of the basic ideas of religious and political freedom and individual opportunity upon which our American liberty is founded; and

Whereas, The tercentenary is also an appropriate time to study anew the writings and accomplishments of this great man who exerted so positive a force in the record of human progress, contributing to the basic thought underlying much of our present educational philosophy and to the development of that great charter of our American liberties, the Constitution of the United States;

Now, Therefore, I, Edward Martin, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, both in accordance with the spirit of the Act of June 22, 1931, and in especial recognition of this the three hundredth anniversary of his birth, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, October 24, 1944, as WILLIAM PENN DAY, and call upon the schools and all other public agencies and institutions and all the historical, patriotic, civic, and other organizations of the Commonwealth to conduct appropriate exercises and undertake such other observances as may seem fitting to their needs and circumstances and which will suitably recognize and pay tribute to the memory of the Quaker Founder of Pennsylvania. I further call upon all of the citizens of this Commonwealth, and

indeed upon all free men wherever they may be, to pause at some time during this year to study and contemplate the life and the principles of this truly great statesman who did so much to establish our heritage of Justice, Tolerance and Freedom.

GIVEN under my hand and the Great Seal of the State at the City of Harrisburg, this first day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, and of the Commonwealth, the one hundred and sixty-eighth.

EDWARD MARTIN.

BY THE GOVERNOR:

C. M. MORRISON,

Secretary of the Commonwealth.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Mrs. William I. Hull has generously offered, for this book, the illustrations collected by her late husband for his book *William Penn: A Topical Biography*, published by the Oxford University Press, 1937. The William Penn Tercentenary Committee hereby expresses its appreciation to Mrs. Hull for twenty-seven of the illustrations in this book.

GROUP I

Bust of William Penn — *Frontispiece*
By courtesy of the Hall of Fame, New York University. Sculptor, A. Sterling Calder; unveiled May 28, 1936.

The Tower, London
From the Hampton L. Carson Collection at the Free Library, Philadelphia.

Views of London from Bankside
From etchings made by W. Hollar 1647, three years after the birth of William Penn; by courtesy of the British Museum.

Newgate, London
From the Hampton L. Carson Collection at the Free Library, Philadelphia.

Portrait of Admiral Sir William Penn, Father of William Penn
From the painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Flagship of Admiral Penn, Renamed "The Royal Charles", Which He Commanded at the Great Victory Over the Dutch, in Company with Duke of York, Afterward James II
From this ship, young William Penn, before he became a Quaker, bore dispatches from his father, the Admiral, to King Charles II. From an old print.

Invasion of the Medway, 1667, *the Royal Charles in the Foreground, Commanded by Admiral Sir William Penn*
From a painting by Van Soest, by courtesy of the trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.

London Tower Liberties
From a survey made in 1597. William Penn was born near the Tower. He and his father, Admiral Penn, were both imprisoned in it and the Admiral's home for a number of years was close beside it.

GROUP II

William Penn at the Age of Twenty-two
From a painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, presented by Penn's grandson, Granville Penn, in 1833. Painted in Ireland and regarded as the most authentic portrait. From the engraving by Sartain.

Exterior and Interior Views of Chigwell School, Wanstead, Essex, England, Attended by William Penn
From old prints.

Chigwell School of Today

The entrance to All Hallows Church, Barking, London, England, where William Penn was baptized. The Tower of London is in the distance.

Christ Church College Stairway, Oxford University
College attended by William Penn.

William Penn's Latin Ode on the Death of His Fellow Student at Christ Church College, Oxford, the Duke of Gloucester, Younger Brother of Charles II
From the memorial volume in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
See the translation on the opposite page.

William Penn Memorial Tablet in the Sessions House on the Site of Old Bailey, London, England

GROUP III

Gulielma Maria Springett Penn
From the engraving of a painting on glass by an unknown artist.

Interior View

King's Farm, Chorley Wood, England
The scene of the wedding of William and Gulielma Maria Springett Penn, 1672.

William Penn's Letter Before Sailing on His First Visit to Pennsylvania
To his three children, Springett, aged 7, Letitia, aged 5 and William, over two. Dated 19th of 6th month, 1682.

Basing House, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, England
Home of William and Gulielma Maria Springett Penn, 1672-1676. From a pencil sketch by George Coventry, in the Gibson Manuscripts.

Hannah Callowhill Penn
The second wife of William Penn. From the portrait in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Charles II, King of England
From a painting by Joseph Michael Wright by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

James II, King of England
From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

William III, King of England
From the painting by William Wissing by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

GROUP IV

Statue of William Penn on the Tower of City Hall
A bronze figure designed by the sculptor, A. M. Calder. Height of the figure 37 feet, rim of hat 23 feet in circumference, hands 4 feet long. Scroll bears the Seal of Charles II, and an inscription taken from the Preamble to the Charter, signed March 1681, giving William Penn absolute proprietary rights to the Province of Pennsylvania. Reproduced through the courtesy of Karl F. Lutz.

William Penn's First Arrival in America, at New Castle, Delaware, 1682

William Penn's First Landing in America, at New Castle, Delaware, 1682
From etchings by Arnold Anderson, 1931, in the collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A Very Early Map of Pennsylvania
Usually called the first or Thornton Map with the date of 1681, from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Thomas Holme's Plot of Philadelphia
Reproduced from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania showing the four public squares and the central square with a rectangular street plan for William Penn's "Greene Country Towne."

William Penn's Charter of Liberties for Pennsylvania, 1682
A facsimile of the original; in the State Museum, Harrisburg.

William Penn's Landing at Chester, 1682

William Penn's Landing at Philadelphia, 1682
From woodcuts in Watson's Annals, 1845.

GROUP V

William Penn, The Founder
From the original painting by Henry Inman in the old City Hall, Chestnut and Fifth Streets, Philadelphia.

Views of Pennsbury Manor, Bucks County, Pennsylvania
The re-created home of William Penn, begun 1683; restored by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission 1938.

1. *The Manor House with Garden, Showing Bakehouse and Brewhouse*
2. *View from Corner of the Garden*
3. *View of Smokehouse and Office*
4. *Stable with Room for Twelve Horses, Looking Southwest*
5. *View Across the Delaware from the Front Door*

Marker Erected in Chester County to Commemorate One of a Number of Manor Grants Made by William Penn

Obverse of the Great Seal of William Penn, Chief Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania
Bearing the words Mercy, Justice.

Reverse of the Great Seal
Bearing the words, Truth, Peace, Love, Plenty, 1699.

GROUP VI

William Penn at the Age of Fifty-two
Reported to be painted from life by Francis Place in 1696. The original is in Durham, England; a copy is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Slate Roof House, Philadelphia
Occupied by William Penn as a residence 1699-1701; from a drawing based on the engraving in Watson's "Annals", made by Edward P. Buyck for 'The Penns of Pennsylvania and England" by Arthur Pound.

Marker at the Site of the Slate Roof House, Philadelphia

Group Assembled at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
William Penn's shaving dish, razor, drinking-cup and ewer.

Group Assembled at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
William Penn's chair, chest and writing-desk, with the wampum belt and his silk scarf.

The Prophecy of Isaiah, XI : 6, II : 2-4
From a painting by Edward Hicks, a self-taught Quaker artist, in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

William Penn's Writing Desk
At the Ridgway Branch of the Free Library Company of Philadelphia.

The So-called Penn or Letitia Cottage
From a photograph of the original, removed and now standing in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

GROUP VII

William Penn's Treaty with the Delaware Indians, 1683
From the mural by Paul Domville for the Mutual Trust Company (now closed), Fourth and Market Streets, Philadelphia.

Tishcohan and Lapowinso, Chiefs of the Delaware Indians Who Treated with the Descendants of William Penn as Proprietors About 1737
Painted by the Swedish artist, Gustavus Hesselius, for John Penn, the son of William Penn. Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Granville Penn, his grandson, in 1834.

The Wampum Belt
Given by the Indians to William Penn and presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 13, 1857 by his great-grandson, Granville John Penn.

Silk Scarf
Made and given to William Penn by his wife, Gulielma, on his departure for Pennsylvania; according to tradition, worn by him at his Treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon, and bearing traces of its former azure blue color.

The Famous Penn Treaty Tree, Shackamaxon, now Kensington, Philadelphia
From the painting by Thomas Birch, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians
From the original painting by Benjamin West, 1772, in the State House (Independence Hall), Philadelphia.

Delaware Indian Deed, July 1682, *to William Penn for Southern Bucks County*
Showing marks and seals of twelve Indian Chiefs, from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

GROUP VIII

William Penn's Copy of the Bible with Coat-of-Arms
From the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Penn's Seat in the Blue Idol Meeting House Near Worminghurst, Sussex, England

Title Page of William Penn's 'No Cross, No Crown,' 1669
From a first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

Title Page of William Penn's 'The People's . . . Liberties Asserted', 1670
From the first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

Title Page of Penn's 'Travails in Holland and Germany,' 1677
From the first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,' 1681
From a copy of the first edition in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Title Page of William Penn's Frame of Government for the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682
From the first edition in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Essay . . . on the Peace of Europe,' 1693
From the first edition in Friends' Reference Library, London.

GROUP IX

William Penn in Old Age
Based on a post-mortem ivory bust by Sylvanus Bevan by permission from drawing by Edward P. Buyck in "Penns of Pennsylvania and England" by Arthur Pound.

William Penn in Old Age
Unauthenticated portrait in oil in possession of Morris L. Clothier, Philadelphia.

Jordan's Friends' Meeting House, Built in 1668, *with William Penn's Grave in the Foreground, Buckinghamshire, England*
From a painting by Hazelhurst in Germantown Friends' School, Philadelphia.

A Facsimile of a Letter
In the Ferdinand J. Dreer collection, *Penn Letters,* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Translation on opposite page.

Philadelphia About the Time of Penn's Death
From the painting by Peter Cooper (enrolled as a freeman of Philadelphia in 1717) in possession of the Ridgway Branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Panoramic View of Central Philadelphia Today
Showing the statue of William Penn on the top of City Hall Tower.

William Penn's Prayer for Philadelphia, Written as a Farewell Message Just Before He Sailed for England at His Second and Last Visit to Pennsylvania
Bronze tablet in the north transcept of the City Hall, Philadelphia, erected through the generosity of the late Joshua L. Baily.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Fruits of Solitude'
From a second edition in the Library of Haverford College.

A MAN OF CONSCIENCE

At eighteen William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, was expelled from Oxford because he was too religious. He frowned on the trappings of required High-Church ritual, revolted against the oppression of the Nonconformists, and absented himself from official chapel. His action in large part set the course of his life. Five years later, in 1667, he joined the new sect of Quakers and turned away from the career his family had planned. Penn could have been a seventeenth-century courtier. His education—tutors, Oxford, a stay at the French court, and a year of law at Lincoln's Inn—followed the proper course for the son of a rich admiral and knight. But Penn became a seventeenth-century man of religion. The world's debt to him is that he spent more time in jails than in courts, that he preached to the people instead of flattering princes, that he followed his conscience more than his ambition.

The age had need of conscience. Europe and England were unsettled. There were wars, civil and foreign; there were pestilences, the plague and the Great Fire. In the face of these calamities the better off spent their time in frivolities and spent their money on rich clothes, expensive wine, gambling, and ostentation. Religion was a matter of belief and of appearance, not one of action. Of conscience there was little, of toleration there was almost none. Group rose against group; minorities were bitterly persecuted. The High Church in England wanted no interlopers, and even the Calvinist refugees in America set up a religious tyranny. Milton thundered against the times; Swift denounced and berated them; Locke pled with them. William Penn became a missionary and a preacher.

His beliefs were as contrary to those of his times as similar beliefs are in many places today. William Penn put ahead of all things the conscience of the individual, in whom he saw shining the Inner Light of God. He insisted on the dignity and divinity of men, all men, and he cried out that the world should practice what it preached. In his attacks on ritual and dogma he warned that men could be justified only by carrying faith into works and by setting public welfare over private gain. "If all Men," he wrote, "were so far Tenants to the Publick that the Superfluities of Gain and Expense were applied to

the Exigencies thereof, it would put an End to Taxes, leave never a Beggar, and make the greatest Bank for National Trade in Europe." His creed was simple: "If we would amend the World, we should mend Our selves, and teach our Children to be, not what we are, but what they should be."

His beliefs Penn translated directly into action. He suffered prison six times and yet continued to throw himself into the violent controversies of the day, composing pamphlets against bigotry and writing all told some million and a half words, including the gems of his religious thought, *No Cross, No Crown,* and *Fruits of Solitude* (maxims that emphasize kindness and charity, not money getting, shrewdness, and thrift). At the same time, he worked for the reform of prisons, proposed progressive methods in education, became a colonizer and a statesman, even a city planner, for he was determined that his Philadelphia should be "a greene country town" with large public squares and straight roads. His vision was not only beyond his times but beyond ours; not only did he plead for a unity of churches; not only did he propose a union of the American colonies; in 1693, a century before the rise of federal government in the U. S., he called for an international government on a federal basis to operate through a parliament, and to include even the infidel Turks.

The goal of all this activity was freedom and tolerance. Penn's defense at his and William Mead's trial for preaching in the street in 1670 is one of the great steps in the long struggle for English liberty. Out of his writings, his preaching, his firm stand in the face of bigoted zealots, corrupt judges, and foul prisons, and his unceasing insistence on the supremacy of conscience came much of the impetus for the Toleration Act of 1689 in England. The course of government in America was profoundly shaped by his pioneer constitutions of self-government for the colonies of West New Jersey and Pennsylvania, of which religious liberty was the foundation and just laws the substance. His treaties with the Indians, whereby he bought land from them and committed his colony to live at peace with them, are an early American instance of tolerance for minorities. His colony maintained itself for seventy years without use of force. With reason Thomas Jefferson called Penn "the greatest lawgiver the world has produced."

Many of Penn's achievements as a prime mover of English and American freedom and of the Quaker religion are tangible. But his greatest achievement is the message that early in life he set forth to preach with all the determination of his puritan spirit: the underlying conviction that men are bound together by more than selfish interests, that the mutual tolerance of men of good conscience is the basis of all human dealing. This message will have meaning as long as life endures.

"Fortune," June, 1944, Copyright *Time,* Incorporated. Acknowledgement is hereby made of the courtesy and cooperation of the editors and publishers of *Fortune.*

I

WILLIAM PENN THE MAN

"William Penn's ancestry has not been positively ascertained farther back than his great-great-grandfather, who bore the same name . . . But the evidence seems . . . sufficient that his family was originally Welsh."[1] The arms borne by Penn the Founder, *Argent, on a fesse Sable three plates,* are the same as those of the Penns of Penn in Buckinghamshire as of 1575-1634 and the same also as those of the Penne Family of Shropshire as of 1564-1620.

William Penn, father of the Founder, was born at Bristol in 1621, the son of Giles Penn, a captain in the English Navy and for many years a consul for the English trade in the Mediterranean. He was educated, with great care, by his father, "under his own eye, for the sea-service, causing him to be well grounded in all its branches, practical and scientific, as is shown by sundry elementary and tabular documents, nautical journals, draughts of lands, observations and calculations, which still survive." [2] He served with his father, as a boy, in various mercantile voyages in the northern seas, and to the Mediterranean, became a lieutenant in the royal navy and thenceforth passed the rest of his active life in that service, under the Parliament, the Protector, and the Restoration. He was married on January 6, 1643, to Margaret Jasper. To this marriage were born three children: William, the Founder, Richard and Margaret.

Sir William Penn, who had been knighted for service in the royal navy, died on September 16, 1670. On his death bed he spoke to William concerning the certain conviction he had of a gracious, patient, and all-wise God; he spoke as one who possessed a truly Christian mind and gave his son several admonitions concerning his conduct in the world.[3] That the father and son were very close, is proved by a conversation between them; Penn in *No Cross, No Crown* records it as having occurred not long before his father's death:

[1] Jenkins, Howard M., *The Family of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, Ancestry and Descendants,* 3.

[2] *Ibid.,* 14-16.

[3] Sewel, William, *The History of The Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers,* 651.

> "Son, William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a Wish, for the Snares of Life are greater than the Fears of Death . . . Three things I commend to you: Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; whatever you design to do, lay it justly and time it reasonably . . . Lastly be not troubled at Disappointments." [4]

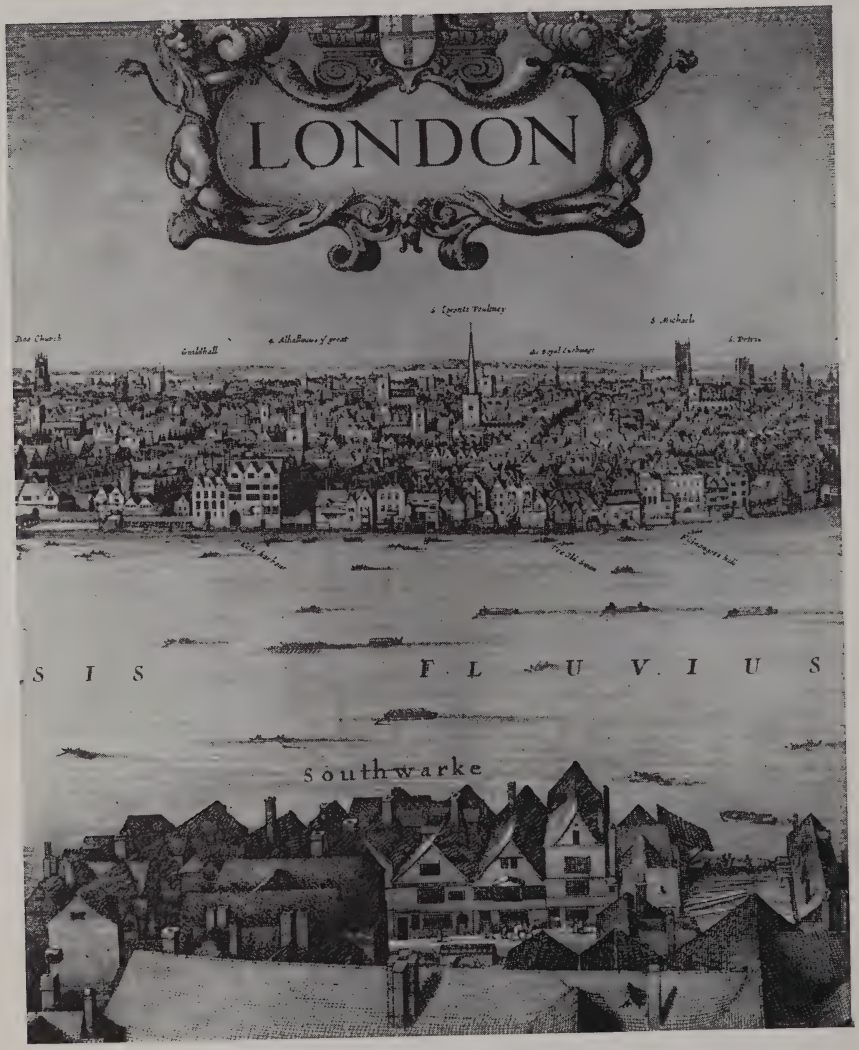
The epitaph which Penn prepared for inscription on his father's monument in the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol, England, leaves no doubt as to his love and reverence and tells, quite well, the story of the Admiral's life and death:

> "To the just Memory of Sr. WILLm. PENN, Kt., and sometimes Generall: Borne at Bristoll An. 1621: Son of Captain Giles Penn, several yeares Consul for ye Mediterranean; of the Penns of Penns-Lodge in ye County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in ye C. of Bucks; and by his Mother from the Gilberts in ye County of Somerset, Originally from Yorkshire: Addicted from his Youth to Maritime Affaires; he was made Captain at the yeares of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-Admiral of Ireland at 25; Admiral to the Streights at 29; Vice-Admiral of England at 31, and General in the first Dutch Warres, at 32. Whence retiring, in A°. 1655 he was chosen a Parliament man from the town of Weymouth, 1660; made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy; Governor of the Town and Fort of King-sail; Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a Member of that Provincial Counseill; and in Anno 1664, was chosen Great Captain Commander under his Royall Highnesse in yt signall and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.
>
> Thus, He took leave of the Sea, his old Element; But continued still his other employs till 1669; at what time, through Bodely Infirmities (contracted by ye Care and fatigue of Publique Affairs), He withdrew, prepared and made for his End; and with a gentle and Even Gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his Last and Best Port, at Wanstead in ye County of Essex, ye 16 Sept. 1670, Being then but 49 and 4 Months old.
>
> To whose Name and merit, his surviving Lady hath erected this remembrance."[5]

[4] [Besse, Joseph], *A Collection of the Works of William Penn, I,* 374, 432, 433.
[5] Penn, Granville, Esq., *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt., II,* 580.

The Tower, London

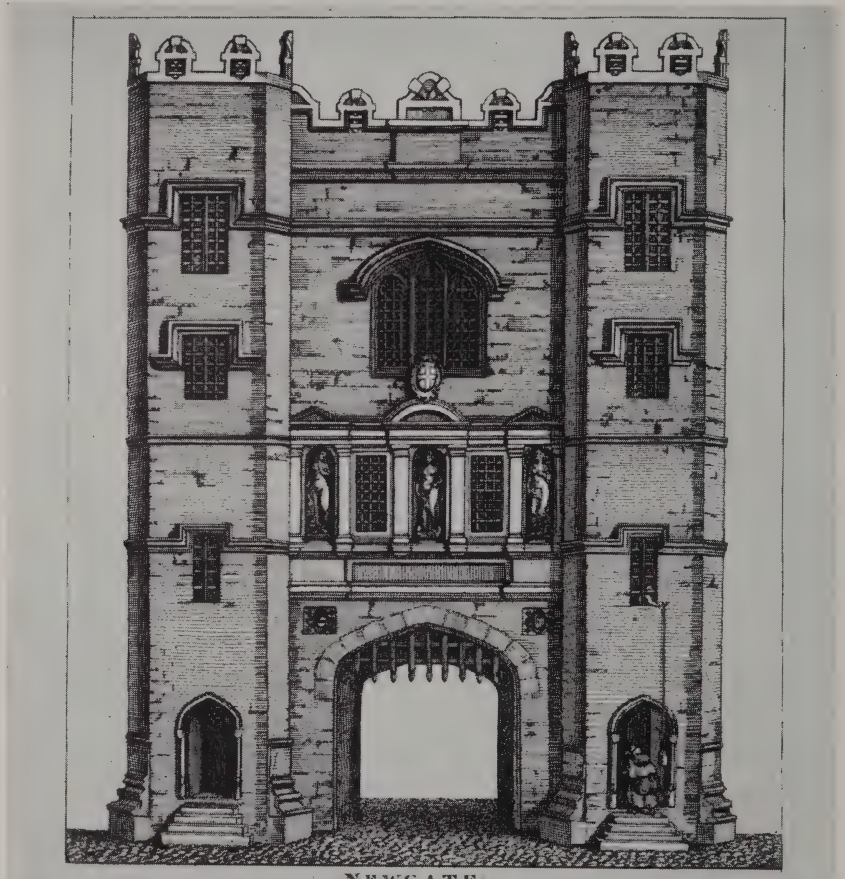
From the Hampton L. Carson Collection at the Free Library, Philadelphia.



Views of London from Bankside

From etchings made by W. Hollar 1647, three years after the birth of William Penn; by courtesy of the British Museum.

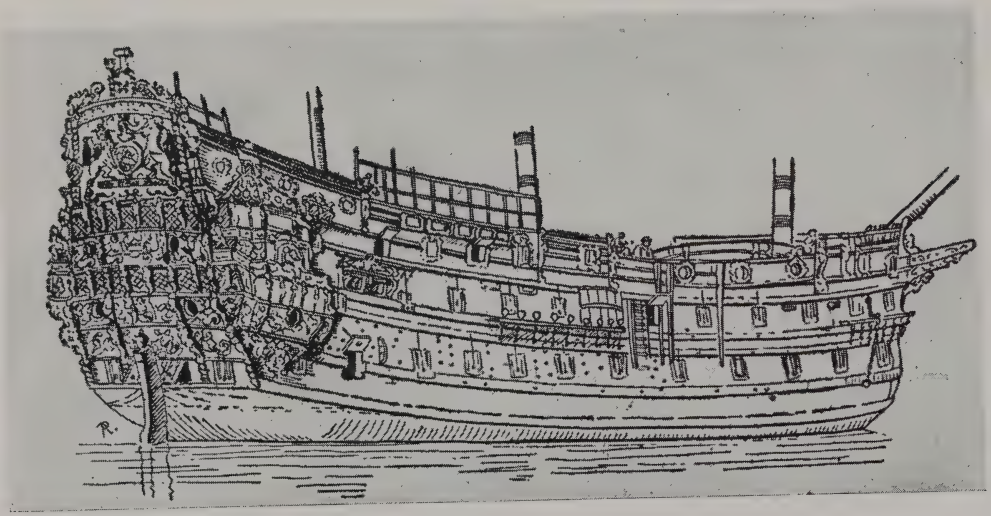
The Tower
Tower Wharf
Olafs



Newgate, London

From the Hampton L. Carson Collection at the Free Library, Philadelphia.

Portrait of Admiral Sir William Penn, Father of William Penn
From the painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

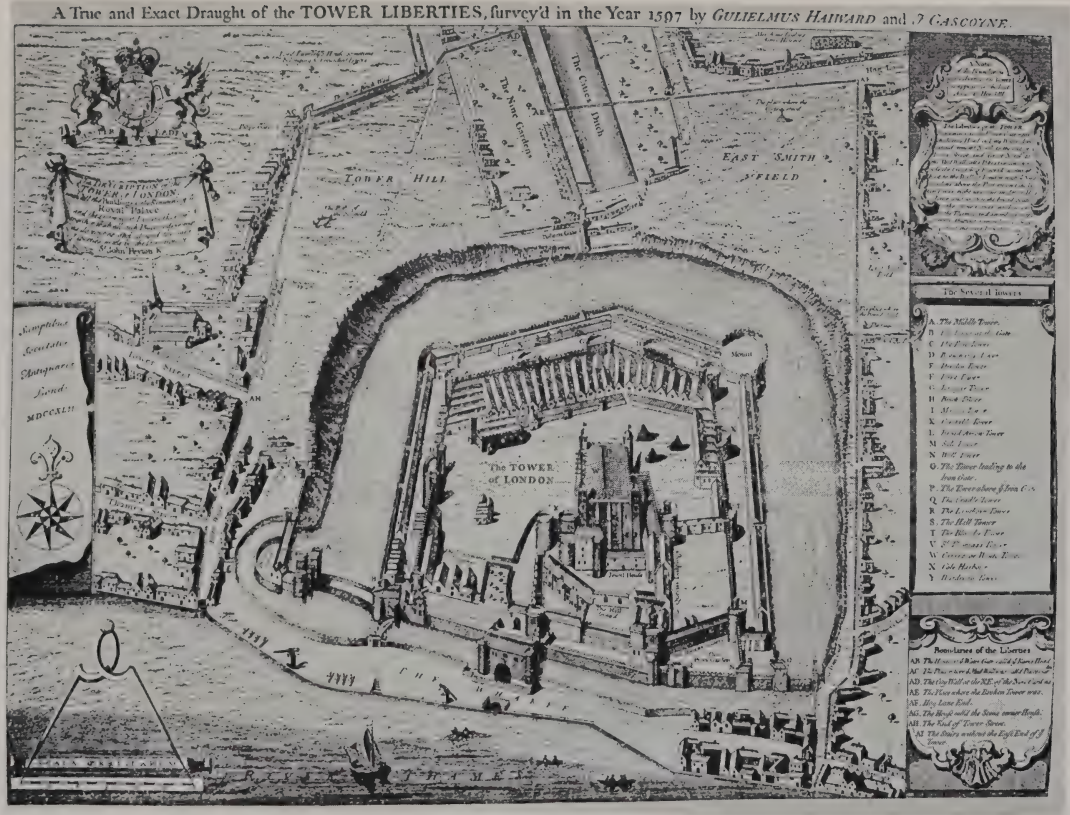


Flagship of Admiral Penn, Renamed "The Royal Charles", Which He Commanded at the Great Victory over the Dutch, in Company with Duke of York, Afterward James II

From this ship, young William Penn, before he became a Quaker, bore dispatches from his father, the Admiral, to King Charles II. From an old print.

Invasion of the Medway, 1667, *the Royal Charles in the Foreground, Commanded by Admiral Sir William Penn*

From a painting by Van Soest, by courtesy of the trustees of the National Maritime Museum, London.


A True and Exact Draught of the TOWER LIBERTIES, survey'd in the Year 1597 by GULIELMUS HAIWARD and J. GASCOYNE.
TOWER HILL
EAST SMITH FIELD
The TOWER of LONDON
The Several Towers
Remarkes of the Liberties

London Tower Liberties

From a survey made in 1597. William Penn was born near the Tower. He and his father, Admiral Penn, were both imprisoned in it and the Admiral's home for a number of years was close beside it.

EARLY LIFE

William Penn, the Founder, was born in London, according to our present calendar, on October 24, 1644. He was sent at an early age to the preparatory school at Chigwell. He attended school there, it is said, until he was twelve years of age. It seems fairly certain that he acquired a good knowledge of Latin, and he may also have obtained the foundation of his knowledge of Greek there. When the Penn family moved from the vicinity of Chigwell to London, his education was entrusted to a private tutor.[6]

With his parents, Penn spent four years on an estate that was granted to his father by Cromwell at Macroom in County Cork, Ireland. There his education was guided by private tutors and it was there that he first had the privilege of hearing the English Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, who exerted a great influence on Penn's subsequent religious life. When he returned to London, he entered Christ Church College, Oxford, October 26, 1660, as a "gentleman commoner."[7] He must have arrived very much of a Puritan in his religious convictions, and one may surmise that his subsequent tribulations there were a natural consequence of these convictions.[8] It was during Penn's stay at Oxford that the Pennsylvania undertaking was in some degree forecasted for he said in a letter to Robert Turner, dated from Westminster in 1681:

> I had an opening of joy, as to these parts, in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty years since and as my understanding and inclination have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one.[9]

After Penn's departure from Oxford, and a brief stay in London, he took the opportunity to tour France, and there at Saumur, studied under the Protestant theologian, Moses Amyraut. Later he went into Italy, whence he was recalled by his father. Beginning the study of law at Lincoln's Inn he subsequently attended his father on board the fleet and carried dispatches to King Charles II. In 1665 the frightful increase of the great plague in London drove him to the country and in the spring of the next year his father sent him to Ireland, where he

[6] Jenkins, 32.
[7] *Ibid.*, 34.
[8] *Ibid.*, 34.
[9] Janney, Samuel M., *The Life of William Penn,* 163.

remained until about Christmas of 1667. During this period there occurred the episode of his military service, under Lord Arran.[10] It was during this period that the portrait in armor was painted.

The attendance by William Penn at Thomas Loe's preaching at Cork, his "convincement" by the views of the Friends, and his arrest by officers at a Friends' Meeting in that city, now followed. Soon after that he returned to London; there he became openly and actively identified with the Friends by writing and speaking in their behalf. In 1668 he published *The Sandy Foundation Shaken,* and in December of that year he was committed to the Tower on account of it. While he was there imprisoned he wrote his best known religious book, *No Cross, No Crown.*

His release from the Tower probably occurred near the end of August 1669, and in September he left London and sailed from Bristol for Cork, Ireland, where he arrived in October and resumed charge of his father's affairs. He found the Friends "under general persecution and those of the city of Cork almost all in prison,"[11] so that he hastened to go to the authorities in Dublin to intercede for them.

Penn remained in Ireland until the summer of 1670. He lived at Dublin and Cork, wrote religious pamphlets, preached at Friends' Meetings, appealed to high civil authorities in behalf of the Friends, and attended to the care of his father's property. Admiral Penn, who was declining in health, requested his son's return to England. Thereupon he rejoined his father at Wanstead.

On August 14, 1670, William Penn and William Mead attended the meeting of Friends in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street, London. The meeting-place having been padlocked by the authorities, a group remained outside in the street, and Penn began to address them. Shortly thereafter constables appeared, with a warrant from the Lord Mayor, Sir Samuel Starling, who duly committed them for a trial which began on September 1st and continued through to the 5th. Penn and Mead, who had been in Newgate prison, were released on the 7th, and nine days later, on September 16th, Admiral Penn died.

Penn's marriage to Gulielma Maria Springett, followed about a year and a half after the death of the Admiral. In the meantime he had been again imprisoned for speaking at a Friends' Meeting, and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; he had written several more

[10] Jenkins, 39.
[11] *Ibid.,* 42.

political and religious pamphlets; and had made his first religious visit to Holland and Germany:

> The years of his courtship and of his first marriage—as late, at least, as his first return from Pennsylvania—form the halcyon period of Penn's career. There is about these years an air of hopeful and buoyant cheerfulness.[12]

Penn and his young wife went to live at Basing House, Rickmansworth, and here made their home for about five years; later they went to Worminghurst, in Sussex.

The Declaration of Indulgence was issued by Charles II in 1672 and then life became somewhat easier for William Penn and his friends. During the period from 1673-74 there was considerable religious controversy between Penn and others, for his preaching and missionary zeal naturally directed him into many private and public debates. But by 1675 Penn's religious debates were nearly over, for he then began his great work as colonizer and gôvernor and also, at about the same time, began his championship of religious toleration.

LOOKING TOWARD THE NEW WORLD

His second religious tour to Holland and Germany occurred in 1677. From 1678 on to the end of his life Penn continued his struggle for religious toleration and freedom of conscience; these paved the way for religious liberty in the next century.

Penn became interested in New Jersey through arbitration of a dispute between two purchasers of West New Jersey lands. Circumstances involved Penn to the extent of drawing up a charter of government for the West New Jersey settlers and in 1681 he and eleven others purchased East New Jersey.

In response to a petition, addressed to King Charles II, Penn was granted the tract of land, that was later called Pennsylvania, in 1681, and he began to organize his colonial activities. The Duke of York (brother of Charles II) who afterward became James II, granted the territory now known as Delaware to Penn, shortly after the grant of Charles II. Thus Penn was able to plant a colony, "which should open its doors to every kindred, tongue and nation; which should transplant from the Old World the best of its arts, science, and culture;

[12] *Ibid.*, 47.

which should minimize human weakness by a free and full exercise of the Christian Gospel, including the benighted Indians within its beneficent light."[13]

Two happenings made the year of 1682 memorable for Penn; he was saddened by the death of his mother and lightened by his first visit to Pennsylvania, his "holy experiment." Much was accomplished during this first visit. When Penn sailed back to England in 1684 he had already organized the Province of Pennsylvania; set up courts and magistrates; laid out Philadelphia; established friendly relations with the Dutch and Swedish colonists along the Delaware River, and with the Indians; and had visited New York, Western New Jersey, and Maryland. Soon after his return to England Charles II died and James II ascended the throne.

Penn petitioned the king in favor of those who were in prison because of their religion. James often heeded the requests of Penn, whose efforts were not confined to Quakers. In 1686 Penn made another journey to Holland, entrusted with diplomatic matters by James II. He also visited the Quaker Meetings and endeavored to procure colonists for Pennsylvania.

The Toleration Act of 1689, which ended persecution for holding public meetings to worship God, was agreeable to Penn, even though it was not all that he had hoped for. His life, at this time, was dark and distressing; he was thought to be in sympathy with James II, who had fled to France in 1688, and to be involved in a conspiracy against William III, then King of England. In the winter of 1688 he was arrested by order of the king's council and bonded to appear at the next term of the king's court. When he was released from bond early in 1689 he was arrested again shortly thereafter and kept under surveillance until court met in the fall. Again he was released, for lack of evidence. Queen Mary, wife of William III, and daughter of James II, ordered Penn's arrest in the summer of 1690, but because of his illness, he was released on bail. He then appealed to King William for justice and was acquitted before the court for lack of evidence against him. But in 1691 he was again under order of arrest, although, he was permitted to go into a retirement, which he continued until 1693. During this period he lived in lodgings, in or near London, and often went to Worminghurst to visit his family. He wrote two of his well-known works, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and *An*

[13] Hull, William I., *William Penn, A Topical Biography,* 220.

Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe, during this period.

Penn's worst disappointment, perhaps, was occasioned by the loss of Pennsylvania which was confiscated by the Crown in 1693 and shared a governor with New York. However, King William restored it to him in 1694 and at the same time granted him full acquittal from charges of treason. Gulielma Maria Penn, his wife, lived long enough to rejoice in her husband's acquittal and liberation from suspicion, but died in 1694, six months before the restoration of Pennsylvania. They had been married nearly twenty-two years and seven children had been born to them.

Her husband's beautiful tribute to Gulielma may well be a source of inspiration to all who read it:

> . . . I hope I may say, she was a public as well as private loss, for she was not only an excellent wife, and mother, but an entire and constant Friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal and undaunted in danger. Religious as well as ingenuous, without affectation. An easy mistress, and good neighbor, especially to the poor. Neither lavish, nor penurious, but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: Therefore our great loss, though her own eternal gain.[14]

Two years after the death of his wife, Penn married again.[15] His second wife was Hannah Callowhill. About this time, after having made plans to visit Pennsylvania, he found that it was necessary for him to attend to some affairs in Ireland before he would be free to carry out his intentions. Going to Ireland in 1698, he found the Friends to be in distress and interceded with the authorities in their behalf. When he finally sailed in September of 1699, in the "Canterbury" for his second visit to Pennsylvania, he was accompanied by his wife and his daughter Letitia, and his secretary James Logan. Almost seventeen years had elapsed since his first journey to Pennsylvania in the "Welcome." The Penns reached Philadelphia on December 3 and in the early part of the new year, John, the first child of the second marriage was born.[16] Subsequently, Hannah and William Penn became the parents of six other children.

[14] *Works, I,* 231, 232.
[15] Jenkins, 62.
[16] *Ibid.,* 72.

CLOSING YEARS

Hannah Callowhill Penn was the heroine of Penn's later life. She was a woman of energy and foresight and wanted Pennsylvania to remain in Penn ownership. After William Penn's death she really managed the Province until 1727. Isaac Norris, writing of her in 1701, just before the Penn's return to England said:

> . . . She is beloved by all, I believe I may say in its fullest extent; so is her leaving us heavy, and of real sorrow to her friends—she has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are, I believe, extraordinary. In short, we love her, and she deserves it.[17]

Penn's residence, after his return from America in 1701, was at Kensington for a time, but in 1706 he removed his family to a home, about eight miles from London, where they lived for some years. In 1710, because of his declining health, the family moved to Rushcombe, in Buckinghamshire, where they lived until his death. Embarrassment, misunderstanding, and pecuniary loss came to him in his later years. He was the victim of a dishonest employee; sorrow and illness followed.

> After a continual and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near its dissolution; and on the 30th day of the 5th month (July) 1718, in the 74th year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was committed to the earth on the 5th day of the 6th month (August) following at Jordan's in Buckinghamshire [in the grounds of the Quaker Meeting House], where his former wife and several of his family had been before interred.[18]

Many persons, Friends and those of other denominations, attended his burial services. Thomas Story, in his *Journal,* said:

> We arrived at Rushcombe late in the evening, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. A solid time (of worship) we had together, but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptising season, and the Lord was

[17] *Memoirs,* Historical Society of Pennsylvania, X, 58.
[18] Besse, Prefix to *Works,* quoted in Janney, 532.

near at that time. On the fifth I accompanied the corpse to the grave where we had a large meeting; and as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services—had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various sorts, and did not leave him in his last moments—so He was pleased to honor this occasion with His blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of His goodness to the general satisfaction of all.[19]

From the province on which he had expended so much care and wealth and love, came a notable memorial, signed by fifty Friends. Among them was David Lloyd, in provincial politics a troublesome opponent of the Proprietor, but in religion a brother.

A testimony of Friends in Pennsylvania concerning their deceased friend and governor, William Penn:

We find ourselves under obligation and concern, both in duty and affection, to give this mark of our love and the honourable regard we bear to the memory of our late worthy governor and well-beloved friend, William Penn; though it may not be our part to attempt so ample and general a testimony as seems justly called for, by his early convincement of the blessed Truth, his noble resignation thereunto, his steadfastness therein, and great services to the church of Christ; as well by incessant labours in word and doctrine, (made more extensive by the many excellent writings he hath published,) as his valiant sufferings for purity of worship, and the testimonies he had received, which to him might be the greater trial and conflict, his birth and station in the world placing him more in the notice of those of high rank amongst men, than was commonly the lot of many others of our worthy elders. Neither can it, we presume, be forgotten, how, when it pleased the Lord to give some ease to his people, this our dear friend employed the interest he then had with success, and devoted his time and purse to serve, not only his friends in their religious liberties, but them and others distressed, or any wanting favour even to the neglect of his own just interest. But these memorials we leave to be made by those of our worthy elders in Great Britain, who have more instances and greater knowledge of those his trials, services, and labours, than many of us can be presumed to be so fully acquainted with.

[19] Janney, 533.

Yet it becomes us particularly to say, that as he was our governor, he merited from us love and true honour, and we cannot but have the same regard to his memory, when we consider the blessings and ease we have enjoyed under his government; and are rightly sensible of his care, affection, and regard, always shown with anxious concern for the safety and prosperity of the people, who many of them, removed from comfortable livings to be adventurers with him—not so much with views of better acquisitions, or greater riches, but the laudable prospect of retired, quiet habitations for themselves and posterity, and the promotion of truth and virtue in the earth. And as his love was great and endeavours constant for the happiness of his friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects, so was his great tenderness, justice, and love towards the Indians, from first to last, always conspicuous and remarkable. Here we cannot but gratefully and humbly acknowledge to the gracious God of all mercies, the wonderful preservation of this colony from such injuries and barbarous depredations as have befallen most others; and add that we believe the same love wherewith the Lord had so fully and effectually prevailed on the heart of our worthy friend, was the chief and durable motive of his affection and kind behaviour towards those people; and was the cause, as he was made a means, of this our peace and preservation; so that his name remains precious, even amongst the heathens.

More might be truly said of him as he was the proprietary and governor of this province; and we now find it our duty, (incited thereto by the love of our heavenly Father in our souls) to add a few lines concerning him as he was our worthy elder, friend, and brother in the blessed Truth; many of us having been often comforted, edified, and solaced with him in the enjoyment thereof. As was his testimony, so was his conversation,—edifying and lovely, administering grace and knowledge. His behaviour was sweet and engaging, and his condescension great, even to the weakest and meanest; affable and of easy access; tender of every person and thing that had simplicity of truth, or honesty for a foundation.

It was our comfort to understand that after all his various troubles, trials, and afflictions, when, in an advanced age, infirmity of body, and a distemper which affected his memory in most other things which befell him, yet the love of God remained with him, and his sense thereof was frequently strong and evident, and, we doubt not, the blessing of the Almighty was his Omega.

> So that we have assured hope, those afflictions being put off with his mortal body, immortality is given him by our Lord Jesus, and as he faithfully bore the cross, the crown, which was his hope, and long since in his eye, is his possession; and his soul received into that bliss prepared and appointed for the righteous.[20]

Ample proof of the esteem in which Penn was held in his own country is given in *A Testimony Concerning William Penn from the Monthly Meeting for Berkshire, England, held at Reading on 31st of 1st Month, 1719:*

> He was a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition, quick of thought and ready utterance, full of the qualification of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice or ingratitude were utter strangers; so ready to forgive enemies that the ungrateful were not excepted.
>
> Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some difficulties, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation; and yet in charity even that part of his conduct may be ascribed to a peculiar sublimity of mind. Not withstanding which he may, without straining his character, be ranked among the learned, good, and great, whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his elaborate writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.
>
> And though in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent distemper, his intellects were much impaired, yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained when reason almost failed.
>
> In fine, he was learned without vanity, facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; apt without forwardness; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the strain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man, a scholar, a friend, a minister surpassing in superlative endowments; whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just.[21]

[20] Lewis, Enoch, *Memoirs of the Life of William Penn* (The Friends' Library) V, 327-328.

[21] Webb, Maria, *The Penns & Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century,* 415, 416.

CHARACTERISTICS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Study of his life and achievements discloses broad and deep currents of a many-sided personality directed toward practical plans conceived in the truest spirit of humanity.

An estimate of the personality, ability, habits, character and work of William Penn, would conclude with the same thought—that he was a "man for the ages." When Penn's affections were deeply touched—when he took a fancy to a man, a province, or a king, he seems to have displayed intense loyalty to the object of his concern. He possessed a sanguine temperament, and one that was easily moved to compassion.

It appears that the early Friends, for the most part, were drawn from humble society. William Penn was a man of a different type, the son of a distinguished admiral, a Christ Church undergraduate, the protégé of the Duke of York, and an accomplished man of the world.

It is not, however, as courtier or politician that Penn deserves to be remembered. In the history of the United States he will be held in everlasting remembrance as the founder of the great colony of Pennsylvania; his claim to fame in world-history results from the fact that he was among the first to conceive and to formulate a plan for world peace.

The confidence in the simple virtues and institutions that William Penn inspired, resulted in bringing to Pennsylvania more than a thousand people in the first year that he founded his colony; emigrants came to settle in the haven that he had secured for the good and the oppressed.

> What Posterity asks concerning a man is, "What did he stand for that concerns us?" Let us see . . . what Penn added to the assets of humanity. He provided for government by the people through the popular election of their representatives; he proposed plans looking toward the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes; he set up open courts with juries of one's peers and with justice for the accused; he reformed the prison system by substituting workhouses for dungeons; he restricted capital punishment to the crimes of willful murder and treason; he provided for an affirmation as the equivalent of a legal oath; he successfully advocated friendly treatment of the natives instead of seeking to corrupt and exploit them; he respected the rights of conscience and freedom of worship, avoiding the abuse of

> a state church; he offered a plan for cooperation between the American colonies; and he made provision for popular and practical education of his citizens. If we review the position reached by humanity on these points before Penn's time, we can measure the extent of his contribution.[22]

Although Penn renounced the vanities and frivolity of the brilliant circles in London, declined the things that he felt to be unworthy of his Christianity, offended his father, and refused to become a self-seeking courtier, yet he did not forfeit the respect of his early friends and companions. He was as courteous and tolerant as he was honest and virtuous; he was not sanctimonious and his pure morality and love of liberty inspired the respect of even the dissolute whose favor was secured by his cheerfulness and temperate wit. He has been compared to the mythical lawgiver of early Greece:

> William Penn is a real Lycurgus. And though the former made peace his principal aim, as the latter did war: Yet they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people, in the ascendant they had over free men . . . and in the passions which they subdued.[23]

A great Englishman in his description of the American colonies said:

> William Penn . . . in his capacity of a legislator, and the founder of so flourishing a Commonwealth, [he] deserves great honour amongs't all mankind . . . It is but just that . . . we should do honour to those great men whose virtue and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the freedom and happiness of mankind; and who have preferred the interest of a remote posterity and times unknown, to their own fortune, and to the quiet and security of their own lives. Now Great Britain and all America reap great benefits from his labours and his losses.[24]

Penn's early life was exemplary, as was his later life. When Sir John Robinson, at one of his trials, tried to cast reflections on his character, he defied anyone to show that he had ever been drunk, ever used an oath, or ever uttered an obscene word, much less indulged in any obscene practice. He said:

[22] Comfort, William Wistar, *William Penn, 1644-1718, A Tercentenary Estimate,* 172, 173.

[23] Montesquieu, Baron de, *The Spirit of Laws, I,* 35.

[24] Burke, Edmund, *An Account of the European Settlements in America, II.* 189, 190, 191.

> I speak this to God's glory, that He has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and from a child begot a hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit that they were once as they are . . . Thy words shall be thy burden, and I shall trample thy slander as dirt under my feet . . . I would have thee and all men know that I scorn that religion that is not worth suffering for. Thy religion persecutes, mine forgives. I desire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment; and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing you everlasting salvation.[25]

There remain, to this day, many written incidents of Penn's charity to the poor and the unfortunate, and records of his generosity to his own and his friend's servants. "We are so inclined to think of Penn as a public figure that we may lose sight of him as the head of a family. He was not only head of his own household, but was also the 'American Uncle' to a much larger company of relatives."[26]

In his youth William Penn was regarded as very handsome in appearance. At the time when the portrait in armor was painted he was about twenty-two years of age and had not yet become a Quaker. He was "then eminently handsome, the expression of his countenance remarkably pleasing and sweet, his eye dark and lively and his hair flowing gracefully over his shoulders."[27]

When he was thirty-eight years old, about the time of the Treaty at Shackamaxon, he was described as being agile, and still very handsome. It would seem that he was free from disease until later in life, and he must have had a vigorous constitution to have withstood the rigors of the imprisonments in unwholesome prisons, that he suffered in his youth. He appears to have retained his physical appearance, to a certain extent; as he grew older he grew more portly "but using much exercise retained his activity."[28]

William Penn appears to have avoided ridicule in the manner of his personal attire. It is certain that his garments were never uncouth but always neat and plain. He changed the cut of his clothes when the variation of fashion became striking, and he made use of both buckles and wigs. If he wore a hat at all times it was not always a refusal

[25] Stoughton, John, *William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania,* 78, 79.
[26] Comfort, 171.
[27] *Memoirs, HSP,* 111, Part II, 71.
[28] Janney, 549.

of a token of respect, for it was by no means as unusual to wear a hat in company then as it is now. He generally walked with a cane, and it was his custom, in the latter part of his life, to take it into his study, and to emphasize particular points with it as he dictated to his amanuensis.[29]

THE FOUNDER AT HOME

William Penn, who took great delight in extending hospitality, entertained frequently. Because of circumstances he had various homes during his lifetime:

> . . . Seven under his father's roof, and twelve under his own. The Cities of London, Bristol and Philadelphia, the English counties of Essex, Bucks, Herts, Sussex, and Middlesex, the Irish county of Cork, and the Pennsylvania county of Bucks, lent their varied attractions to beautify and dignify his homes and to aid in the development of his own many-sided character and career.[30]

The Founder's homes in Pennsylvania are of particular interest. He made two visits to Pennsylvania and had three homes in the Province. On Letitia Court, Philadelphia, stood a clap-board building, that Penn had built on his first visit. Later, on this site, which ran north from Chestnut to Market between Front and Second Streets, was built the "Letitia House," which now stands in Fairmount Park.

When Penn came to Pennsylvania on his second visit, he brought with him his wife Hannah, his daughter Letitia, and his secretary James Logan. On that visit he lived at the "Slate Roof House," on Second Street north of Walnut. His son, John, "the American," was born here. This house stood until about 1867.

Penn had a country home, which he called "Pennsbury." The Bucks County estate was chosen by one of his agents during his first visit, and consisted of approximately 8000 acres of flat, well-forested land, lying about twenty-four miles northeast of Philadelphia, on the Delaware River. On this he had erected in 1682-83, a spacious Manor House forty feet in width and sixty feet in length. It stood on an elevation about fifteen feet above the river, and was surrounded by attractive formal gardens. This house fell into ruins over two cen-

[29] Clarkson, Thomas, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn, II,* 349.
[30] Hull, 15.

turies ago. Today, however, there is a splendid re-creation of the Manor House on the site of the original one which, together with forty acres of ground, is the property of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It presents many intimate details of the Founder's connection with Pennsylvania.

Penn entertained frequently at Pennsbury, all of the distinguished strangers who visited Pennsylvania and most of the chief families of the province. Indian neighbors were received and it is said that nearly a score of Indian treaties were signed there. Pennsbury was handsomely furnished. The table furniture was splendid and included damask cloths and napkins, "a suite of Tunbridge ware," blue and white china, a supply of silver in which silver forks are mentioned (a refinement then little known in England) and pewter dishes and plates.

The furniture at Pennsbury and in the Philadelphia house was of solid oak or dark walnut, and included spider tables and high-backed carved chairs. There were arm chairs and couches, cushioned with plush and satin, and in the second parlor was placed a great leather chair which may have been the Founder's favorite chair. Hangings of damask and striped linen were used in each room.[31]

Penn's gardens at his country home sloped down to the water's edge and were planted with varieties of fruits, flowers and vegetables. He wrote to Ralph Smythe, his gardener at Pennsbury in 1684 thus:

> Set out the garden by the house, plant sweet herbs, sparrograss, carrots, parsnips, hartechokes, salatin, and all flowers and kitchen herbs there . . . Let a peach tree be planted between every apple tree.[32]

Penn's homes were always well furnished but he permitted no extravagance. His table was plentifully spread; his pastures, gardens, woods and waters, furnished him with ample supplies. He also liked the simple luxuries in the matter of food that the Province afforded, for in a letter to his steward he said:

> "Pray send us some two or three smoaked haunches of venison and pork—get them of the Swedes: also some smoaked shadds and beef—the old Priest at Philadelphia had rare shadds."[33]

[31] *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part II, 85, 86.
[32] *Records and Activities of The Welcome Society of Pennsylvania,* 1942, 23.
[33] *Memoirs,* 84.

William Penn was fond of horses, and desired to introduce the best stock into America. On his first visit he had three blooded horses and in 1700 he imported the horse Tamerlane. When he travelled to New York or Maryland he went on horseback; during his first visit to Pennsylvania, he generally rode a large white horse. His coach was, doubtless, seldom used except in Philadelphia or its neighborhood for the roads were very poor. His equipages also included, a sedan chair and a calash ["a rattling leathern conveniencey"], in which he drove to country meetings. His favorite mode of travel, though, seems to have been by water. He instructed his steward thus:

> "But above all dead things, my barge, I hope no body uses it on any account, and that she is kept in a dry dock, or at least covered from weather."[34]

This barge, or the one that replaced it in 1700, must have been a vessel of some stateliness, which required six oars, carried a sail and awnings, and had a regular officer and crew. It was preserved with great care after William Penn's last departure; James Logan had a protective house built over it, and it was scarcely ever used. There were, also, several smaller boats at Pennsbury that may have been used along the banks of the Delaware, for William Penn occasionally liked to fish and hunt.[35]

Characteristic of William Penn, was his thought for the welfare of his family and friends as exemplified in *The Advice of William Penn to his Children Relating to their Civil and Religious Conduct,* from which the following is quoted:

> Above all, remember your Creator: remember yourselves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time, and fore part of your life; for good methods and habits obtain'd then, will make easier and happy the rest of your days.[36]
>
> * * *
>
> Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome; much speaking, as much thinking spends, and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind, and is to the spirit, what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment. It is a great virtue: it covers fully, keeps secrets, avoids disputes, and prevents sin.[37]

[34] Janney, 417.
[35] *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part II, 79.
[36] *Works II,* 898.
[37] *Ibid.,* 899.

> Never meddle with other folk's business, and less with the public, unless called to the one by the parties concern'd . . . and required to the other by the Lord in a testimony for His name and truth.[38]
>
> * * *
>
> If God give you children, love them with wisdom, correct them with affection: Never strike in passion, and suit the correction to their age as well as fault. Convince them of their error before you chastise them . . . Punish them more by their understanding than the rod.[39]
>
> * * *
>
> Show mercy, whenever it is in your power . . . mercy is one of the attributes of God.[40]

An eminent historian, who would not be accused of prejudice, has written in glowing terms his opinions of Penn:

> . . . William Penn was tolerant . . . looked inward to the divine revelations in every mind . . .To Penn, the soul was an organ which of itself instinctively breathes divine harmonies, like those musical instruments which are so curiously and perfectly framed, that when once set in motion, they of themselves give forth all the melodies designed by the artist that made them . . . Conscience . . . to Penn, is the image of God, and His oracle in the soul . . .
>
> Penn loved his children, with not a thought for the consequences . . . Penn reverenced woman as the object of fervent inward affection . . . In studying the understanding . . . Penn (begins) with an inventory of our intellectual treasures . . . Penn declares that "there must be a people before a government" . . . and deducing the right to institute government from man's moral nature seeks its fundamental rules in the immutable dictates "of universal reason," its end in freedom and happiness . . . The doctrine of Fox and Penn being but the common creed of humanity, forbids division, and insures the highest moral unity . . .

[38] *Ibid.*, 900.
[39] *Ibid.*, 901.
[40] *Ibid.*, 904.

William Penn at the Age of Twenty-two

From a painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, presented by Penn's grandson, Granville Penn, in 1833. Painted in Ireland and regarded as the most authentic portrait. From the engraving by Sartain.

Exterior and Interior Views of Chigwell School, Wanstead, Essex, England, Attended by William Penn

From old prints.

Chigwell School of Today

The entrance to All Hallows Church, Barking, London, England, where William Penn was baptized. The Tower of London is in the distance.

Christ Church College Stairway, Oxford University
College attended by William Penn.

Epicedia Acad. Oxon.

Publica te Dux Magne, dabant Jejunia genti,
Sed facta eſt nato Principe feſta dies.
Te moriente, licet celebraret læta triumphos
Anglia; ſolennes ſolvitur in lachrymas.
Solus ad arbitrium moderaris pectora; ſolus
Tu dolor accedis, deliciæque tuis.

Gul. Penn. eq. Aur. fil. natu Max. ex
Æd. *Chriſti*, ſuperioris ordinis
Commenſalis.

Cum Tres excepit redivivos Anglia Fratres,
Et voluit Terno hæc unica Sole Regi,
Pythagora tua me tenuit ſententia, ut ipſe
Crediderim Numeris omnia ineſſe Tuis,
Sed ſatis in Ternos Soles non una patebat
Terra, & ſplendori non ſatis ampla ſuo eſt;
Ipſe ſuam Princeps animam exhalavit, & ultrò
Fratribus Imperii fræna moleſta dedit,
Ille licèt mores hominum vidiſſet & urbes,
Advena, & hoc quamvis regna ſuperba forent,

Littora

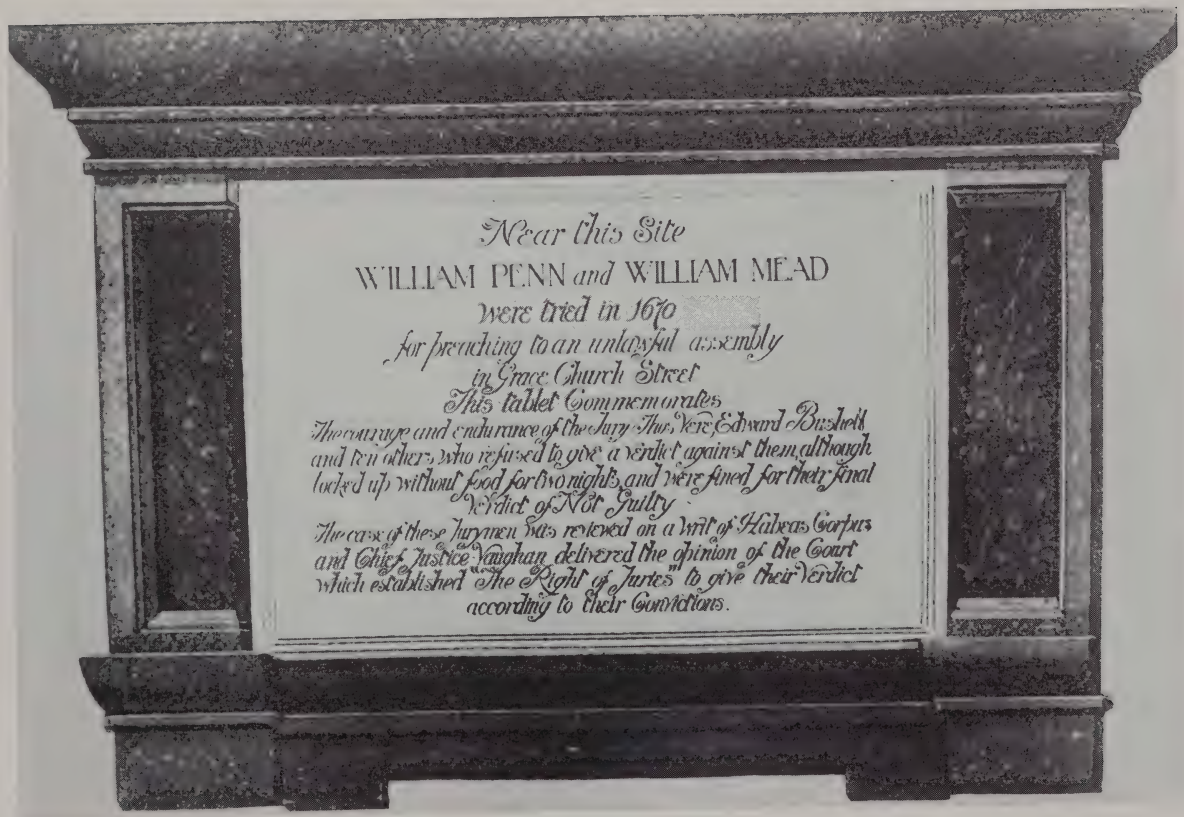
William Penn's Latin Ode on the Death of His Fellow Student at Christ Church College, Oxford, the Duke of Gloucester, Younger Brother of Charles II

From the memorial volume in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See the translation on the opposite page.

TRANSLATION FROM *MEMOIRS OF THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN BY THOMAS CLARKSON*

Though 'twas a fast-day when thou cam'st, *thy birth*
Turn'd it at once to one *of festive mirth.*
Though England, *at thy death,* still made her show
Of *public joy,*[1] she pass'd to *public woe.*
Thou dost, alone, the public breast control,
Alone, delight and sorrow to the soul.

[1] On account of the Restoration.


Near this Site
WILLIAM PENN and WILLIAM MEAD
were tried in 1670
for preaching to an unlawful assembly
in Grace Church Street
This tablet Commemorates
The courage and endurance of the Jury Thos Vere Edward Bushell
and ten others who refused to give a verdict against them although
locked up without food for two nights and were fined for their final
Verdict of Not Guilty
The case of these Jurymen was reviewed on a Writ of Habeas Corpus
and Chief Justice Vaughan delivered the opinion of the Court
which established "The Right of Juries" to give their Verdict
according to their Convictions.

William Penn Memorial Tablet in the Sessions House on the Site of Old Bailey, London, England

Penn esteemed happiness to lie in the subjection of the baser instincts to the instinct of Deity in the breast, good and evil to be eternally and always as unlike as truth and falsehood, and the inquiry after the highest good to involve the purpose of existence . . . derived the idea of infinity from the soul, and ascribed it to truth, and virtue, and God . . . saw truth by its own light, and summoned the soul to bear witness to its own glory . . . censored no sect, but condemned bigotry of all sorts as inhuman . . . believed that God is in every conscience, His light in every soul; and therefore, stretching out his arms, he built—such are his own words—"a free colony for all mankind." [41]

[41] Bancroft, George, *History of the United States, II,* 377-379.

1644 II

WILLIAM PENN'S RELIGION

At the age of twenty-two, Penn was sent to Ireland to manage a large estate which his father owned there. The well-known portrait of Penn in armor was painted at this time, while he was helping to put down an insurrection. He even entertained the idea that he would accept a commission in the army. But the young warrior happened one day to hear an old man preach at a Quaker meeting. The old man was Thomas Loe, whom Penn had heard in Ireland some years before. On this crucial day the old man preached from the text: "There is a faith that overcometh the world, and there is faith that is overcome by the world." He made the greatest convert of his career, for the young gentleman doubted no longer. On that day William Penn definitely and finally became a Quaker.[1]

In 1677, Penn together with certain other eminent Quakers undertook a journey to Holland and Germany in order to visit groups in each country who professed a faith somewhat like that of the English Quakers. Some of these groups were converted in Friends' Meetings. At the time of one of such visits, the account of which is recorded in *his Travels in Holland and Germany,* Penn related to a group of pious people further testimony as to his convincement:

Here I began to let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, Anno 1656. How at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the Divine impressions He gave me of Himself: Of my persecution at Oxford . . . Of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep sense He gave me of the vanity of this world; of the irreligiousness of the religions of it: Then of my mournful and bitter cries to Him, that He would show me His own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow Him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I

[1] Price, Joseph Haines, and Yarnall, Stanley R., *William Penn,* 8, 9.

> was even ready to give up myself unto it, feeling as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth: And being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things.
>
> It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of His eternal word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely Thomas Loe.[2]

A complete understanding of William Penn's religion is necessary before his work can be understood. Not only as a protagonist of Quakerism in the field of religion, but also as Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, and in all the secular affairs of his life, he sensed the compelling hand of God and devoutly believed that he was God's instrument in the service of humanity.

> William Penn . . . able to maintain the strict bodily discipline and clean life taught in his home, went out against the system of intolerance wherever and however exercised in constraint of freedom of conscience. He sought liberty for the soul . . . There was . . . a small body of earnest persons waiting for William Penn . . . Already they had undergone persecution, carried their doctrine overseas, and developed effective proselyting. They won recruits in all classes except the nobility . . . In this company, William Penn, a man of family, wealth, education, and travel . . . was their best convert, in those days and remains one of the bright lights of Quakerism.[3]
>
> William Penn . . . gives eloquent evidence of his belief in his early days after conversion, that we must live in the world, but not be of it. Practically this means that a great number of diversions and frivolities countenanced by the world must be renounced by the true Christian because they interfere with the soul's welfare . . . It is not surprising then, to find that in Pennsylvania as early as 1682 not only the grosser forms of immorality were condemned, but also "all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, May-games, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings, and the like" were to be punished.[4]
>
> Penn's theology, like that of the Quakers in general, cannot be separated from his ethics; for his religion can scarcely be expressed in any other terms than those of daily conduct.[5]

[2] *Works, I,* 92. 93.
[3] Pound, Arthur, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England,* 89-91.
[4] Comfort, W. W., *William Penn's Religious Background, PMHB, LXVIII,* 4.
[5] Hull, 171.

Taken altogether, Penn's ethical writings raise him to the first rank of moral philosophers.[6] Primarily, he believed in the reality and immanence of God in the human soul.[7]

THE QUAKER WAY OF LIFE

Penn shared the theological atmosphere and method of his century and for twelve years took an active part in polemical religious argument. He wrote many pamphlets to confound error as he conceived it, and to set forth clearly and fearlessly the basic position of the Quakers. He did this as one compelled by the circumstances of his time, because he believed, with contemporary Quakers, that faith was incarnated in works. His belief, shared by the Quakers, that individuals communed directly with God necessitated a respect for their individual convictions, as well as a tolerance of them. "He was inclined by nature to rely more upon trust in God's goodness than upon faith in the varied attributes which theology assigned to him." [8]

> His talents, his learning and his social position assured him a leading place among them [Quakers] from the first. But the social and intellectual democracy practised by the Quakers appealed to him no less than their religious convictions. He not only exercised his call to preach in Quaker meetings, but he gladly endured the ostracism, persecution and imprisonment which were the lot of all religious dissenters in that troubled time.[9]

It is well to know something of the history of the Quakers in order to interpret Penn's subsequent ideas and influence:

> Those people who began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conscience, and accordingly preached to others the doctrine of an inward light, wherewith Christ had enlightened men, in the latter end of the time of King Charles I began to increase in number, and they became a separate society among men, and in process of time, the name of QUAKERS, was in scorn imposed on them . . .[10] The first that I find that was thus immediately reached in his mind, was a a young man called George Fox . . .[11] It was in the year 1648,

[6] *Ibid.*, 173.
[7] *Ibid.*, 167.
[8] *Ibid.*, 166.
[9] Price and Yarnall, 9.
[10] Sewel, 7.
[11] *Ibid.*, 7.

that several persons seeking the Lord, were become fellow-believers, and entered into society with George Fox . . . [12] Until this time those who professed the light of Christ as shining in man's heart, and reproving for sin, were not improperly called "professors of the light," or "children of the light"; but Gervas Bennett . . . hearing that G. Fox bade him, and those about him, "Tremble at the word of the Lord," took hold of this weighty saying with such an airy mind, that from thence he took occasion to call him, and his Friends, scornfully, Quakers . . .[13]

However . . . The Quakers . . . grew numerous in those early times. As on the one hand there were raised zealous preachers; so on the other, there were abundance of people in England, who having searched all sects, could no where find satisfaction for their hungry souls.[14]

The Quakers formed a Society of people who were disgusted with . . . hypocrisy, insincerity and worldliness . . . and who were eager for spiritual reality and power in simple lives . . . Friends of the Light or Truth, as they called themselves, had some unshakable convictions or "testimonies": They refused to take judicial oaths because of Christ's denunciation of a double standard of truth; they claimed to live in the virtue of a power which did away with the occasion of all wars, so they were dedicated to peace; they refused to be baptized, married or buried by paid priests of the authorized churches; they declined to attend the fixed services in the steeple-houses and to pay tithes for religious privileges in whose efficacy they no longer trusted; they ceased the outward observance of water baptism and of the Eucharist. For their refusal to do what was then conventional they were persecuted by both Church and State . . . The important thing to note is that the sufferings and the death under persecution of the Quakers marked the end of grand-scale persecution for conscience' sake in the English-speaking world.[15]

The Quaker historian tells further of William Penn's convincement as he relates the story of the Quakers:

[12] *Ibid.*, 18.
[13] *Ibid.*, 29.
[14] *Ibid.*, 87.
[15] Comfort, *William Penn's Religious Background, PMHB, LXVIII, 4.*

In the beginning of the year 1668, William Penn, son of Admiral Sir William Penn, began to show himself openly an adherer to, and assertor of the doctrine of those called Quakers. He had been trained up in the university of Oxford, and was afterwards, by his father, sent into France, where, for some time, he lived (as himself once told me) with the famous preacher Moses Amyraut. After a considerable stay in that kingdom, being returned and come into Ireland, he once went to a meeting of those called Quakers, which being disturbed, he, though finely clothed as a young gentleman and wearing a great periwig, was with others carried from thence to a prison, where by his fellow-prisoners he was more confirmed in that doctrine which he already apprehended to be truth. But when it came to be known that he was the son of Admiral Penn, he was soon released. This change did not a little grieve his father, who intended to have trained him up for the court; but now saw his eldest son in the early part (being about the twenty-second year) of his age, entered into the society of the despised Quakers. Several means were used, even his necessaries were withheld from him, to draw him off, if possible, and bring him to other resolutions. But all devices and wiles proved in vain; for he continued steadfast.[16]

This year 1668 at London died Thomas Loe, a man of an excellent gift, who zealously had laboured in the ministry of the gospel in Ireland, and by his preaching had brought many over into the society of his friends, and among others also William Penn, to whom on his death-bed he spoke thus: "Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then He will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old have walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. Glory, Glory to Him! for He is worthy of it. His love overcomes my heart, nay, my cup runs over: glory be to His name forever." No wonder that this speech of one that was at the point of entering into eternity, confirmed William Penn exceedingly in that doctrine, which he had now embraced as truth.[17]

[16] Sewel, 539.
[17] *Ibid.*, 544.

SENSE OF DIVINE GUIDANCE

Of particular interest to citizens of this Commonwealth is the fact, that throughout Penn's life he felt the serious responsibility toward a Higher Power. This is definitely shown in Penn's conduct and precepts, and especially in his role of lawmaker. In one of the most important documents connected with Pennsylvania he said: "Government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." [18] In a letter to his friend, Robert Turner, in 1681, to whom he wrote concerning Pennsylvania, he reiterates his belief: "Let the Lord guide me by His wisdom, and preserve me to know His name and serve His truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though none here."

Penn's relations with the plainest of his colonists, with the lowliest of the Indians, and with people in all walks of life, gave steadfast testimony that he believed God to be present in the heart of every man; that God could speak to the hearts of all men through human instruments. Those who truly feared God, said Penn, would have a secret guidance from a higher wisdom than was possible from human sources, they would be directed by the spirit of truth and wisdom. He believed that the secret direction by the Almighty would be seen principally in matters relating to the good of the soul, but that it could be found also in the everyday concerns of life. He testified that in his own experience he was never disappointed in receiving Divine guidance and direction, but he reiterated that the happiness of Divine guidance could be enjoyed only by the humble in spirit, for:

> No man knows the Mind and Will of God, neither can rightly discern of Spiritual Matters, but as they are revealed and manifested by the Spirit of God . . . I cannot phrase it better, than a Divine Glass, in which we see (I say WE SEE, who first have that Heavenly Organ and Eye opened by Inspiration and Revelation) the States and Conditions of the Primitive Saints: which is Matter of unspeakable Comfort and Confirmation, as well as of Good Example to us; and yet still, the efficient Cause of all, is the convincing Revelation and Operation of the Eternal Spirit of God.[19]

[18] Penn, William, *The Preface to the Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania* (see Chapter IV, following).

[19] *Works, I,* 32-37.

William Penn believed that Grace was individual and that the Spirit was the guide that led to all truth. The Scriptures he read with reverence and with delight and his own soul bore witness that they were true. He never referred to them as the "Word of God," but as the progressive revelation of God's will. He did not regard them as a permanent blueprint for Christians; he believed in a continued revelation and he felt that Christ was the perpetual speaker to all men. Penn declared that one must live the Scriptures, not give intellectual assent, only, to them, and he pointed out that the great characters of the Bible, who received approval from God, had no Scripture, but only God's voice, for their guide. The following quotation, from *Truth Exalted,* emphasizes his belief:

> Therefore O ye princes, priests, and people, the solid, necessary and weighty question I have to ask you all . . . is this: What nature, what heart, what spirit, and what ground it is in which your religious faiths, works, words and worships stand and grow? . . . For this know, that no performances but by clean hands, and a pure heart, from whence evil doings are put away, can give acceptance with the pure God . . .[20]

FRUITS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The key to William Penn's belief is contained in the first chapter and ninth verse of John: "This is the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Christ, who was the Light himself after he was manifested in the flesh, reasoned Penn, makes it easier for man to recognize the Light and if one ever receives and obeys this Light, one becomes a Child of God.

As a philanthropist and Christian, Penn is admired: his views and sentiments have obtained a wide circulation. They have been embraced and acted on by vast numbers, who have never enrolled themselves as members of the Society with which he was united and of which he was so able a defender. If proof of this were needed one could refer to his sentiments on prison discipline and reformation of the penal code, his plans for an extended system of education, his doctrines respecting peace, and the belief in individual revelations to man.

The foundation stone of Penn's character was that of sincere and

[20] *Ibid.,* 241.

unaffected piety. He has shown by his writings what his own ideal standards of conduct were; he applied them fully to himself. In both public and private worship, and in the pursuit of every day affairs, both small and great, he constantly sought and found God's living presence. Moreover, he believed in a shared body of feelings and identification with the prayerful strivings of others.

> He gathered his family three times a day for religious instruction and meditation. There is no evidence that his religion was other than a continued strength and support to him. Indeed, his friends point this out. If pressed for his own valuation of his religion, he would certainly have confessed that it alone enabled him to support what he had to bear; the Lord was indeed his strength, his shield, and his exceeding great reward.[21]

Joined inseparably to Penn's religious faith was his conviction of a "divine leading" in all things, both temporal and spiritual. He expressed this in a number of instances. In a letter to James Logan in 1702 he wrote thus:

> I desire thy application and health, and above all thy growth in the feeling of the power of truth; for that fits and helps us above all other things, even in business of this world, clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.[22]

That he was mindful of the happiness and spiritual welfare of others, even though widely separated from himself, is shown when he wrote *An Epistle of Farewell, to the People of God called Quakers, wherever Scattered or Gathered, in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in any other Parts of Europe,* dated in 1699, on the eve of his departure to Pennsylvania for a second time:

> . . . Let your eye be to the Lord, and wait upon Him; walk with Him; and He will walk and dwell with you; And then no weapon form'd against you, be it in particular, or in general, shall prosper . . . It may perhaps try you . . . but it shall never finally prevail against you, if you keep the eye of your minds to Him and have faith in Him . . .[23]

[21] Comfort, 171, 172.
[22] *Memoirs, HSP,* IX, 167.
[23] *Works,* I, 237.

He continues thus:

> . . . Much I could say for my heart is open, and full, too, of Divine Love, but time fails me; therefore feel me, my dear friends, in that love of God, which is over sea and land; where distance cannot separate, or time decay, nor many waters quench.[24]
>
> I send this parting salutation, of my most dear love in the truth, beseeching you all to have me and mine in your remembrance, not only upon the mighty waters, but when in the solitary deserts of America, if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither: For I am not above the love and prayers of my dear brethren, knowing I need them, and have often found, by good experience, that they avail much with the Lord . . .[25]

Penn was a man of action, but he saw, as do religious leaders today, that action, to be effective, must spring from religious foundations and have religious inspiration. He displays great wisdom in these quotations from *Some Fruits of Solitude:*

> Religion is the fear of God, and its demonstration good works; and faith is the root of both: For without faith we cannot please God; nor can we fear what we do not believe . . .[26]
>
> To be like Christ, then, is to be a Christian. And regeneration is the only way to the kingdom of God, which we pray for . . .[27]
>
> Serving God concerns the frame of our spirits, in the whole course of our lives; in every occasion we have, in which we may shew our love to his law . . .[28]

Realizing that men, too often, fail to be truly thankful for God's bountiful goodness, Penn said:

> The world represents a rare and sumptuous palace, mankind the great family in it; and God, the Mighty Lord and Master of it.
>
> We are all sensible what a stately seat it is; the heavens adorned with so many glorious luminaries; and the earth with groves; plains, valleys, hills, fountains, ponds, lakes and rivers; and variety of fruits and creatures for food, pleasure

[24] *Ibid.,* 237.
[25] *Ibid.,* 238.
[26] *Ibid.,* 839.
[27] *Ibid.,* 840.
[28] *Ibid.*

> and profit. In short how noble an house He keeps, and the plenty and variety and excellency of His table; His orders, seasons, and suitableness of every time and thing. But we must be sensible, or at least ought to be, what careless and idle servants we are, and how short and disproportionable our behavior is to His bounty and goodness.[29]

A boundless faith in the surety of an eternal life is expressed by Penn in these words:

> The truest end of life is to know the life that never ends. He that makes this his care will find it his crown at last . . .
>
> He that lives to live ever, never fears dying . . . For though death be a dark passage, it leads to immortality, and that's recompense enough for suffering of it.
>
> For death is no more than a turning of us over from time to eternity . . . Death then being the way and condition of life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.[30]

[29] *Ibid.,* 841.
[30] *Ibid.,* 841.

III

WILLIAM PENN THE DEFENDER OF FREEDOM

William Penn has universal significance as an advocate and exponent of religious toleration and civil liberty. Not only Pennsylvanians but all English-speaking people and even all who own allegiance to modern ideals of humanity and democracy, are in his debt. This is well expressed in the great English biographical collection:

> As a stout champion of the right of independent thought and speech, as the apostle of true religion, of justice, gentleness, sobriety, simplicity, and "sweet reasonableness" in an age of corrupt splendour, morose pietism, and general intolerance, Penn would be secure of a place among the immortals, even though no flourishing state of the American Union revered him as its founder.[1]

His first personal experience of religious persecution occurred while he was yet wavering on the verge of complete adherence to the beliefs of the Friends. While visiting Ireland in 1667, to look after his father's new Shangarry estates, he had again met Thomas Loe and others of the Friends, and attended their meetings. Once, it is said, a soldier made a disturbance in a meeting at Cork and Penn seized him by the collar to throw him out. A Friend persuaded him to let him alone, pointing out that "they were a peaceable people".[2] The soldier complained to the magistrates, and as a result William Penn and eighteen others were arrested. He was offered his freedom if he would give bond for good behavior, but refused it. Excerpts from a letter to his friend, the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, written at this time, show that his ideas on religious toleration were already well-developed.

> The occasion may seem strange as my cause is just, but your lordship will no less express your charity in the one than your justice in the other.
>
> Religion, which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but mine own freeman; for being in the assembly of the people called Quakers, there came several constables, backed with soldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before the

[1] J. M. Rigg, article on William Penn, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIV, 317.

[2] Harvey MS., *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, XXXII, 23.

mayor, and amongst others violently haled me with them: upon my coming before him, he charged me for being present at a tumultous and riotous assembly; and unless I would give bond for my good behaviour, who challenge the world to accuse me justly with the contrary, he would commit me.

* * *

But I presume, my Lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries, must needs have furnished you with this infallible observation: that diversities of faith and worship contribute not to the disturbance of any place, where moral uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the peace. It is not long since you were a good soldier for the liberty I now crave, and concluded no way so effectual to improve or advantage this country, as to dispense with freedom in things relating to conscience; and I suppose were it riotous or tumultuary, as by some vainly imagined, your lordship's inclination, as well as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble supplication, therefore, to you is, that so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Englishmen, may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your lordship, for as it is contrary to the practice elsewhere, and a bad argument to invite English hither, so, with submission, will it not resemble that clemency and English spirit, that hath hitherto made you honorable.[3]

The Lord President promptly overruled the local magistrate, and the young Penn, now definitely a Quaker, was released. His father's wrath over his son's conversion was possibly intensified by the gossip and "publicity" given to this imprisonment. Essentially a humane and just man, he eventually swallowed his disappointment in his son, as is told elsewhere. Penn, meanwhile, began to use his social position for the relief of his fellow-believers and in the cause of religious liberty. An autobiographical fragment relates:

The first time I went to Court after I had embraced the communion I am of, was in '68. The business that engaged me, was the suffering condition of my Friends in several parts of this kingdom, the cause of it, tenderness of conscience, no evil fact. Those in company with me, were George Whitehead, Josiah Coale, and Thomas Loe. The person went to was the Duke of Buckingham; but our application at that time did not answer our expectation, tho' in his own inclinations he favoured the principle of liberty of conscience.

[3] Janney, 24-25; *Works*, I, 2-3.

The second time I went to court, was the same summer and upon the same errand, in company of G. Whitehead and Josiah Coale. We addressed ourselves to Sir Henry Berwick then Secretary of State, with whom our business had no better success than before. I was much toucht with the sense of our Friends many and great hardships, and the more for that they were inflicted in a Protestant Country, and came from Protestant hands—and could not but think the severitys they lay under, for meer conscience to God, must necessarily bring the very Protestant Religion under scandal abroad. Being Protestants in all those points, wherein the very Church of England might claim that title, and whose main point was a strict and holy life. This made it seem reasonable and requisite to me, to make their sufferings and them better known to those in authority: charitably hoping that if they would give themselves the leisure, to be truly informed of both, they would afford them better quarter in their own country than Stocks, Whips, Gaols, Dungeons, Praemunires, Fines, Sequestrations and Banishment, for their peaceable dissent in matters relative to Faith and Worship, and accordingly I had framed a scheme to myself for that purpose. But it so fell out, that towards the close of that year, I was made incapable of prosecuting the resolution I had taken, and the plan I had layd of this affair by a close and long imprisonment in the Tower of London, for a book I writ, called "The Sandy Foundation Shaken", occasioned by some reflections made upon us and our Principles, by one Tho. Vincent, a Dissenting Minister, because some of his Congregation enclined to be of our Perswasion.

[That which engaged the Bishop of London to be warm in my Persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian Ministers had with him, and the *mistake* they improved against me, *of my denying the Divinity of Christ, and the Doctrine of the Trinity.*] [4]

This second imprisonment, ostensibly for what he had written on religious subjects, had a variety of causes behind it. Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, who was an enemy of Admiral Penn, used this incident as an indirect way of striking at the father; while King Charles II, himself a man of very flexible conscience, seems to have thought that jail might cure young Penn of his troublesome beliefs.[5]

[4] "Fragments of an Apology for Himself, by William Penn", in *Memoirs, HSP*, III, Part II, 238-239.

[5] Hull, 182-183.

I was committed the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the Fall of the Leaf following; wanting about fourteen days of nine months.

As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own Father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the Kings command to endeavour my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the King that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for Religion could never be in the right—so neither the Doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the Kings favour and preferment at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publickly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged.[6]

Admiral Penn had enlisted the help of the Duke of York, through whose intervention the royal chaplain Stillingfleet was sent to counsel the prisoner. Partly as a result, Penn wrote an explanation of his offending work, called *Innocency with her Open Face.* The authorities professed to be satisfied, and he was released, though he had not formally recanted his doctrines.[7] A notable by-product of his eight months in the Tower was his famous work, *No Cross, No Crown.*

Although William Penn was released, the persecution of persons not conforming to the established Church continued, as did his efforts to relieve their lot.

This Fall began to be troublesome to the Dissenters in General and the People called Quakers in particular; the hands lifted up at others oftentimes falling heavy upon them who had not the interest or latitude, to use the arts others did to avoid suffering.

Within six weeks after my enlargement, I was sent by my Father to settle his Estates in Ireland, where I found those of that Kingdom under too general persecution, and those of the City of Cork almost all in Prison; and the Gaol by that means became a Meeting-house, and a Work-house, for they would not be idle any where. I was sorry to see so much sharpness from English to English, as well as from Protestants to Protestants; where their interest was civilly and nationally the same, and their Profession of Religion fundamentally so too. Having informed myself of their case, and grounds of

[6] "Fragments . . .", *Memoirs,* HSP, III (1834), 239.

[7] W. Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn, An Historical Biography,* 66.

> this severity as near as they could inform me, (which without doubt was at least as much from envy about trade, as zeal for Religion,) I adjourned all private affairs to my return from Dublin, whither in a few days I went post, and after conferring with my Friends at that city, and digesting the whole into a general state of our case, I went with two or three of them to the Castle, and . . .[8]

Here the autobiographical fragment breaks off in mid-sentence. It is known, however, that Penn's repeated petitions were finally answered by an order-in-council of June 4, 1670, for the release of Quaker prisoners in Ireland.[9]

Not long after this, Penn returned to England, and soon became involved in his most notable trial, which is famous in English history for establishing the rights of defendants and of juries. On Sunday, August 14, 1670, Friends found that their meetinghouse in Grace Church Street, London, had been closed by the authorities, and proceeded to meet in the street. Penn began to preach to them, and was promptly arrested, together with William Mead, another Friend. The warrant for their arrest had already been signed by the Lord Mayor. Penn describes the incident in a letter to his father.

> Second day morning, 15th of 6th mo. (August) 1670
>
> My dear father:
>
> This comes by the hand of one who can best allay the trouble it brings. As true as ever Paul said, that such as live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution, so for no other reason am I at present a sufferer. Yesterday I was taken by a band of soldiers, with one Capt. Mead, a linen draper, and in the evening carried before the Mayor; he proceeded against me according to the ancient law; he told me I should have my hat pulled off, for all I was Admiral Penn's son. I told him that I desired to be in common with others, and sought no refuge from the common usage. He answered, it had been no matter if thou hadst been a commander twenty years ago. I discoursed with him about the hat; he avoided it, and because I did not readily answer him my name, William, when he asked me in order to a mittimus, he bid his clerk write one for BRIDEWELL,[10] and there would he see me whipped himself, for all I was Penn's son, that starved the seamen. Indeed these words grieved me, as well as that it manifested

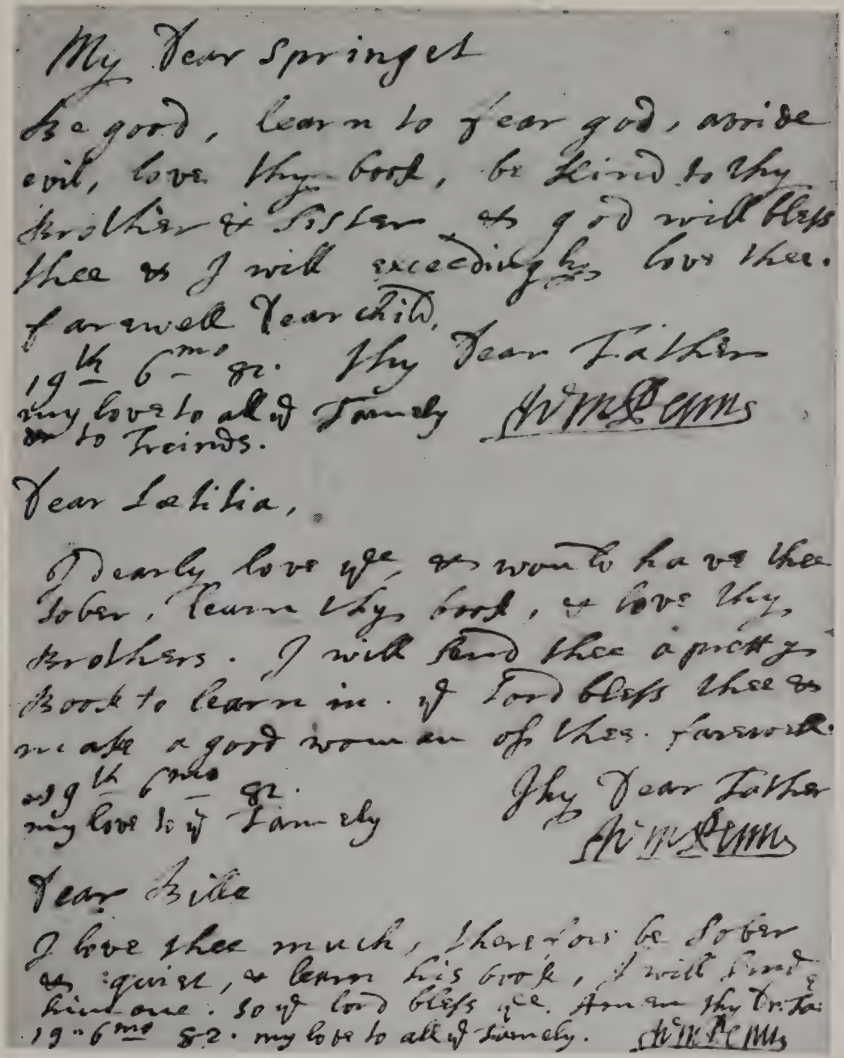
[8] "Fragments . . .", *Memoirs*, HSP, III (1834), 239-240.
[9] Dixon, 72; Janney, 55.
[10] A notorious house of correction.

Gulielma Maria Springett Penn
From the engraving of a painting on glass by an unknown artist.

INTERIOR OF KING JOHN FARM, CHORLEY WOOD, WHERE WILLIAM PENN WAS MARRIED.
Reproduced by the courtesy of the Hon. Arthur Capell.

Interior View

King's Farm, Chorley Wood, England
The scene of the wedding of William and Gulielma Maria Springett Penn, 1672.



My Dear Springet

be good, learn to fear god, abide evil, love thy book, be kind to thy brother & Sister & god will bless thee as I will exceedingly love thee. farewell Dear child.

19th 6mo 82. thy Dear Father

my love to all my Family & to Freinds. Wm Penn

Dear Letitia,

I dearly love yᵉ & would have thee sober, learn thy book, & love thy brothers. I will send thee a pretty book to learn in. ye Lord bless thee & make a good woman of thee. farewell.

19th 6mo 82. thy Dear Father

my love to my Family Wm Penn

Dear Billy

I love thee much, therefore be sober & quiet, & learn his book, I will send him one. so ye lord bless yᵉ. from thy Father

19th 6mo 82. my love to all my Family. Wm Penn

William Penn's Letter Before Sailing on His First Visit to Pennsylvania
To his three children, Springett, aged 7; Letitia, aged 5 and William, over two.
Dated 9th of 6th month, 1682.

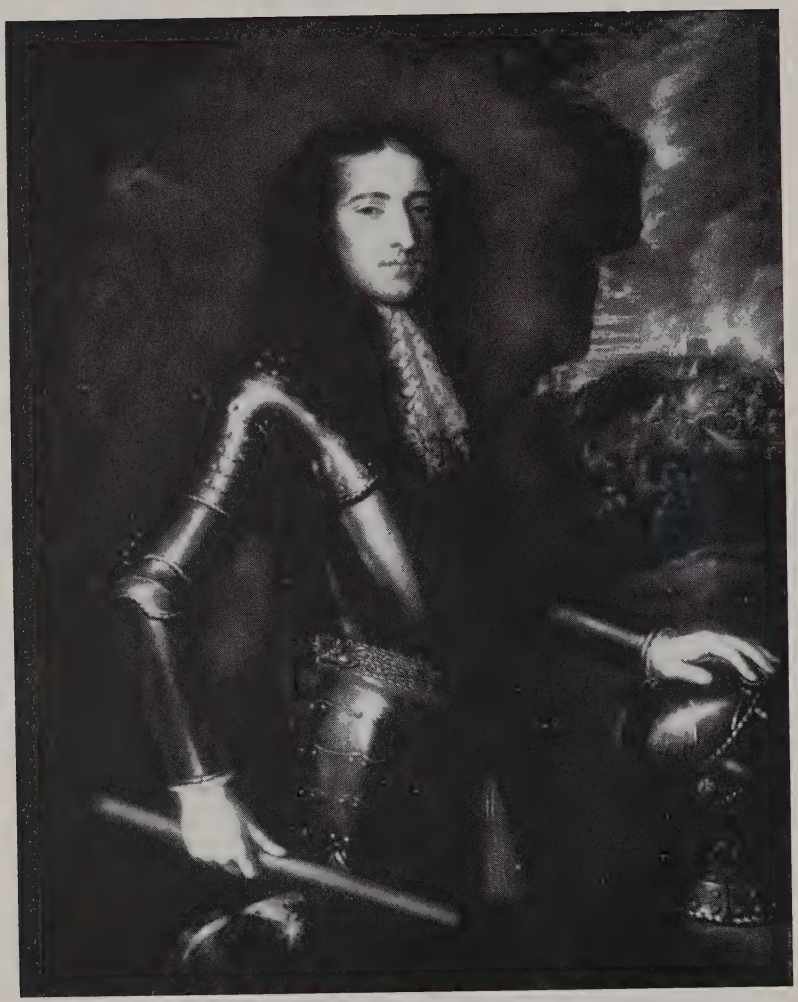
Basing House, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, England
Home of William and Gulielma Maria Springett Penn, 1672-1676. From a pencil sketch by George Coventry, in the Gibson Manuscripts.

Hannah Callowhill Penn

The second wife of William Penn. From the portrait in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Charles II, King of England
From a painting by Joseph Michael Wright by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

James II, King of England
From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.



William III, King of England
From the painting by William Wissing by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

his great weakness and malice to the whole company, that were about one hundred people. I told him I could very well bear his severe expressions to me concerning myself, but was sorry to hear him speak those abuses of my father, that was not present, at which the assembly seemed to murmur. In short, he committed that person with me as rioters; and at present we are at the sign of the Black Dog, in Newgate market.[11]

And now, dear father, be not displeased nor grieved. What if this be designed of the Lord for an exercise of our patience? I am sure it hath wonderfully laid bare the nakedness of the Mayor. Several Independents[12] were taken from Sir J. Dethicks, and Baptists elsewhere. It is the effect of a present commotion in the spirits of some, which the Lord God will rebuke; and I doubt not but I may be at liberty in a day or two, to see thee. I am very well, and have no trouble upon my spirits, besides my absence from thee, especially at this juncture, but otherwise I can say, I was never better; and what they have to charge me with is harmless. Well, eternity, which is at the door, (for he that shall come will come, and will not tarry), THAT shall make amends for all. The Lord God everlasting consolate and support thee by his holy power, and preserve to his eternal rest and glory. Amen.

Thy faithful and obedient son,

William Penn.

My duty to my mother.

For my dear father, Sir William Penn.[13]

THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM PENN AND WILLIAM MEAD

After two weeks in that "noisome and stinking" prison, Penn and Mead were brought to trial on September 1, 1670. Afterwards, William Penn published a complete report of the proceedings, apparently from stenographic notes. This, because of its dramatic character and historic interest, is given in full. Spelling, punctuation and arrangement have been modernized.

> As there can be no observation, where there is no action; so it's impossible there should be a judicious intelligence, without due observation.

[11] "The sign of the Black Dog" was a sponging-house of Newgate prison. Its bailiff, or jailer, "sponged" on the prisoners, charging exorbitant prices for food and drink.

[12] Congregationalists.

[13] *The Friend,* Philadelphia, VI, 170.

And since there can be nothing more seasonable than a right information, especially of public acts; and well knowing how industrious some will be to misrepresent this trial to the disadvantage of the cause and prisoners, it was thought requisite in defence of both, and for the satisfaction of the people, to make it more public; nor can there be any business wherein the people of England are more concerned than in that which relates to their civil and religious liberties, questioned in the persons above-named at the Old Bailey, the first, third, fourth and fifth of September, 1670.

There being present [on the bench as justices],

Samuel Starling, Mayor	Richard Ford, Alderman
Thomas Howell, Recorder	Joseph Shelden, Alderman
Thomas Bludworth, Alderman	John Smith, Sheriff
William Peak, Alderman	James Edwards, Sheriff
John Robinson, Alderman	Richard Brown, Sheriff

Clerk: Call over the jury.

Crier: Oyez, Thomas Veer, John Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, William Plumsted, Henry Henley, Thomas Damask, Henry Mickel, William Lever, John Baily.

[The oath was given to the jury as follows:]

You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make betwixt our Sovereign Lord the King and the prisoners at the bar, according to the evidence; so help you God.

[Then the indictment was read:]

That William Penn, Gent., and William Mead, late of London, Linen-draper, with divers other persons to the jurors unknown, to the number of three hundred, the 14th day of August, in the 22nd year of the King, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, the same day, with force and arms, etc., in the Parish of St. Bent [Bennet] Grace Church in Bridgeward, London, in the street called Grace Church Street, unlawfully and tumultuously did assemble and congregate themselves together, to the disturbance of the peace of the said Lord and King; and the aforesaid William Penn and William Mead, together with other persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, then and there to assemble and congregate together; the aforesaid William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead before made; and by abetment of the aforesaid William Mead then and there, in the open street, did take upon himself to preach and speak, and then and there did preach and speak unto the aforesaid William Mead and other persons there, in the street aforesaid,

being assembled and congregated together, by reason whereof a great concourse and tumult of people in the street aforesaid, then and there, a long time did remain and continue, in contempt of the said Lord the King and of his law, to the great disturbance of his peace, to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege people and subjects, to the ill example of all others in the like case offenders, and against the peace of the said Lord the King, His Crown, and dignity.

What say you, William Penn and William Mead, are you guilty as you stand indicted, in manner and form as aforesaid, or not guilty?

Penn: It is impossible that we should be able to remember the indictment verbatim, and therefore we desire a copy of it, as is customary in the like occasion.

Recorder: You must first plead to the indictment before you can have a copy of it.

Penn: I am unacquainted with the formality of the law, and therefore, before I shall answer directly, I request two things of the court. First, that no advantage may be taken against me, nor I deprived of any benefit which I might otherwise have received. Secondly, that you will promise me a fair hearing and liberty of making my defence.

Court: No advantage shall be taken against you. You shall have liberty. You shall be heard.

Penn: Then I plead not guilty in manner and form.

Clerk: What sayest thou, William Mead, art thou guilty in manner and form, as thou standest indicted, or not guilty?

Mead: I shall desire the same liberty as is promised William Penn.

Court: You shall have it.

Mead: Then I plead not guilty in manner and form.

The court adjourned until the afternoon.

Crier: Oyez, etc.

Clerk: Bring William Penn and William Mead to the bar.

(The said prisoners were brought, but were set aside, and other business prosecuted. Where we cannot choose but observe that it was the constant and unkind practice of the court to the prisoners, to make them wait upon the trials of felons and murderers, thereby designing in all probability both to affront and tire them.)

After five hours' attendance, the court broke up and adjourned to the third instant.

The third of September, 1670, the court sat.

Crier: Oyez, etc.

Clerk: Bring William Penn and William Mead to the bar.

Mayor: Sirrah, who bid you put off their hats? Put on their hats again!

(Whereupon one of the officers putting the prisoners' hats upon their head, pursuant to the order of the court, brought them to the bar.)

Recorder: Do you know where you are?

Penn: Yes.

Recorder: Do not you know it is the King's court?

Penn: I know it to be a court, and I suppose it to be the King's court.

Recorder: Do you not know there is respect due to the court?

Penn: Yes.

Recorder: Why do you not pay it then?

Penn: I do so.

Recorder: Why do you not pull off your hat then?

Penn: Because I do not believe that to be any respect.

Recorder: Well, the court sets forty marks a piece upon your heads, as a fine for your contempt of the court.

Penn: I desire it might be observed that we came into the court with our hats off (that is, taken off), and if they have been put on since, it was by order from the bench; and therefore not we, but the bench should be fined.

Mead: I have a question to ask the recorder. Am I fined also?

Recorder: Yes.

Mead: I desire the jury and all people to take notice of this injustice of the recorder. Who spake to me to pull off my hat? And yet hath he put a fine upon my head. O fear the Lord, and dread his power, and yield to the guidance of his holy Spirit, for he is not far from every one of you.

The jury was sworn again.

(John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, disingenuously objected against John Bushel, as if he had not kissed the book, and therefore would have him sworn again; though indeed it was on purpose to have made use of his tenderness of conscience in avoiding reiterated oaths, to have put him by his being a juryman, apprehending him to be a person not fit to answer their arbitrary ends.)

The clerk read the indictment as aforesaid.[14]

Three witnesses were then called to give evidence. They reported that they had seen Penn speaking to a crowd in the street, but that they could not hear what he had said. Two of them had also seen Captain Mead; the third had not.

Recorder: What say you, Mr. Mead? Were you there?

Mead: It is a maxim in your own law, *Nemo tenetur accusare seipsum,* which if it be not true Latin, I am sure it is true English, that no man is bound to accuse himself. And why dost thou offer to ensnare me with such a question? Doth not this show thy malice? Is this like unto a judge that ought to be counsel for the prisoner at the bar.

Recorder: Sir, hold your tongue! I did not go about to ensnare you.

Penn: I desire that we may come more close to the point, and that silence be commanded in the court.

Crier: Oyez! All manner of persons keep silence upon pain of imprisonment! Silence in the Court!

Penn: We confess ourselves to be so far from recanting or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the Eternal, Holy, Just God, that we declare to all the world that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us.

Brown: You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. You do yourselves a great deal of wrong in going on in that discourse.

Penn: I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge, and to the end the bench, the jury and myself, with these that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me to know by what law it is you prosecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment.

Recorder: Upon the common law.

Penn: Where is that common law?

[14] *The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted in the Tryal of William Penn, and William Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old-Baily in London, the first, third, fourth and fifth of Sept. 70, against the most Arbitrary procedure of that Court* (London, 1670), *Works* I, 7-18; Janney, 58-72.

Recorder: You must not think that I am able to run up so many years, and over so many adjudged cases which we call common law, to answer your curiosity.

Penn: This answer I am sure is very short of my question, for if it be common, it should not be so hard to produce.

Recorder: Sir, will you plead to your indictment?

Penn: Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine or agree to bring in their verdict, who have not the law produced by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilty or contrary of my fact?

Recorder: You are a saucy fellow. Speak to the indictment.

Penn: I say it is my place to speak to matter of law. I am arraigned a prisoner; my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned. You are many mouths and ears against me (at this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner to bear him down), and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my case, it is hard. I say again, unless you show me and the people the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted your proceedings are merely arbitrary.

Recorder: The question is whether you are guilty of this indictment.

Penn: The question is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we know where and what it is. For where there is no law, there is no transgression, and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Recorder: You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the court what law is? It's *lex non scripta,*[15] that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me to tell you in a moment?

Penn: Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it's far from being very common; but if the Lord Coke in his Institutes be of any consideration, he tells us that common law is common right, and that common right is the great charter privileges.

Penn here cited three early statutes, and volume and page of Coke's *Institutes,* to prove his point, thus stretching the recorder's patience to the breaking point.

[15] Unwritten law.

Recorder: Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honor of the court to suffer you to go on.

Penn: I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.

Recorder: If I should suffer you to ask questions till tomorrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

Penn: That is according as the answers are.

Recorder: Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

Penn: I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you that if you deny me *oyer*[16] of that law, which you suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your sinister and arbitrary designs.

Recorder: Take him away! My Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do anything tonight.

Mayor: Take him away, take him away, turn him into the bale-dock.[17]

Penn: These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury—and my sole judges—that if the ancient fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property—and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion—must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children slaved, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer as their trophies, but our (pretended) forfeits for conscience's sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.

Recorder: Be silent there!

Penn: I am not to be silent in a case where in I am so much concerned, and not only myself but many ten thousand families besides.

(They having rudely haled him into the bale-dock, William Mead they left in court, who spake as followeth.)

[16] Hearing.

[17] The bale-dock, or bail-dock, was a small room partitioned off in a corner of the Old Bailey courtroom.

Mead: You men of the jury, here I do now stand to answer an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehoods; for therein I am accused that I met *vi et armis, illicite et tumultuose.*[18] Time was, when I had the freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man. Nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say, I am a peaceable man. Therefore, it is very proper question what William Penn demanded in this case, an *oyer* of the law on which our indictment is grounded.

Recorder: I have made answer to that already.

Mead (turning his face to the jury): You men of the jury who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout or an unlawful assembly, Coke, he that once they called the Lord Coke, tells what makes a riot, a rout, and an unlawful assembly: a riot is when three, or more, are met together to beat a man or to enter forcibly into another man's land, to cut down his grass, his wood, or break down his pales.

(Here the recorder interrupted him and said, "I thank you, Sir, that you will tell me what the law is," scornfully pulling off his hat.)

Mead: Thou mayst put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now.

Brown: He talks at random, one while an Independent, another while some other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.

Mead: Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.[19]

Mayor: You deserve to have your tongue cut out.

Recorder: If you discourse on this manner, I shall take occasion against you.

Mead: Thou didst promise me, I should have full liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privilege of an Englishman. I am an Englishman, and you might be ashamed of this dealing.

Recorder: I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be preserved and kept, nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have.

[18] With force and arms, unlawfully and tumultuously.

[19] This may be freely translated, "It is shameful for the preacher when his own crime refutes him."

Mead: The Lord is judge between me and thee in this matter.

(Upon which they took him away into the bale-dock, and the recorder proceeded to give the jury their charge, as followeth:)

Recorder: You have heard what the indictment is. It is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them, and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on. There are three or four witnesses that have proved this, that he did preach there, that Mr. Mead did allow of it. After this you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to and observe, as what hath been fully sworn at your peril.

(The prisoners were put out of court into the bale-dock, and the charge given to the jury in their absence, at which W. P. with a very raised voice, it being a considerable distance from the bench, spoke.)

Penn: I appeal to the jury who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke in the second Institute, 29, on the chapter of Magna Charta speaks.

(The recorder being thus unexpectedly lashed for his extra-judicial procedure, said with an enraged smile:)

Recorder: Why, ye are present, you do hear, do you not?

Penn: No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bale-dock; and you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard, having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalid their indictment.

Recorder: Pull that fellow down! Pull him down!

Mead: Are these according to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but turned into the bale-dock for making our defence, and the jury to have their charge given them in our absence. I say these are barbarous and unjust proceedings.

Recorder: Take them away into the hole. To hear them talk all night, as they would, that I think doth not become the honor of the court, and I think you yourselves *(i. e.,* the jury) would be tired out, and not have patience to hear them.

(The jury were commanded up to agree upon their verdict, the prisoners remaining in the stinking hole. After an hour

and a half's time eight came down agreed, but four remained above. The court sent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down. The bench used many unworthy threats to the four that dissented, and the recorder, addressing himself to Bushel, said, "Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance, and manifestly show yourself an abettor of faction. I shall set a mark upon you, Sir.")

J. Robinson: Mr. Bushel, I have known you near this fourteen years. You have thrust yourself upon this jury because you think there is some service for you. I tell you, you deserve to be indicted more than any man that hath been brought to the bar this day.

Bushel: No, Sir John, there were threescore before me, and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

Bludworth: I said when I saw Mr. Bushel, what I see is come to pass, for I knew he would never yield. Mr. Bushel, we know what you are.

(They used much menacing language, and behaved themselves very imperiously to the jury as persons not more void of justice than sober education. After this barbarous usage, they sent them to consider of bringing in their verdict, and after some considerable time they returned to the court. Silence was called for, and the jury called by their names.)

Clerk: Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury: Yes.

Clerk: Who shall speak for you?

Jury: Our foreman.

Clerk: Look upon the prisoners at the bar. How say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter wherefore he stands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?

Foreman: Guilty of speaking in Gracious Street.

Court: Is that all?

Foreman: That is all I have in commission.

Mayor: Was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean he was speaking to a tumult of people there?

Foreman: My Lord, this was all I had in commission.

(Here some of the jury seemed to buckle to the questions of the court, upon which Bushel, Hammond, and some others opposed themselves and said they allowed of no such word as an unlawful assembly in their verdict; at which the recorder, mayor, Robinson and Bludworth took great occasion to vilify them with most opprobrious language; and this verdict not serving their turns, the recorder expressed himself thus:)

Recorder: The law of England will not allow you to depart till you have given in your verdict.

Jury: We have given in our verdict, and we can give in no other.

Recorder: Gentlemen, you have not given in your verdict, and you had as good say nothing. Therefore, go and consider it once more, that we may make an end of this troublesome business.

The jury retired after requesting pen, ink, and paper; and the court adjourned for half an hour. Then, the session re-opened and a similar scene was enacted. The foreman presented a written verdict, signed by all the jurors.

We the jurors, hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly met together in Gracious Street, the 14th of August last, 1670. And that William Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

* * *

(This both mayor and recorder resented at so high a rate that they exceeded the bounds of all reason and civility.)

Mayor: What! Will you be led by such a silly fellow as Bushel? An impudent canting fellow! I warrant you, you shall come no more upon juries in haste. You are a foreman indeed (addressing himself to the foreman). I thought you had understood your place better.

Recorder: Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept, and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court. We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.

Penn: My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced. Their verdict should be free and not compelled. The bench ought to wait upon them but not forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict.

Recorder: Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.

Mayor: You have heard that he preached, that he gathered a company of tumultuous people, and that they do not only disobey the martial power but civil also.

Penn: It is a great mistake. We did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be so ignorant as to think that we met there with a design to disturb the civil peace, since, first, we were by force of arms kept out of

our lawful house and met as near it in the street as their soldiers would give us leave; and, second, because it was no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual and customary with us. 'Tis very well known that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.

(The court being ready to break up and willing to huddle the prisoners to their jail, and the jury to their chambers, Penn spoke as follows:)

Penn: The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law, and such a one being given in by the jury, I require the Clerk of the Peace to record it, as he will answer it at his peril. And if the jury bring in another verdict, contradictory to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law. (And looking upon the jury he said:) You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right.

Bushel and others: Nor will we ever do it.

The court adjourned until seven in the morning, after refusing to excuse a juror who had pleaded illness. The jury spent the night without food or drink or any proper accommodation, but in the morning the result was the same. After the usual preliminaries, the answer came:

Foreman: William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracious Street.

Mayor: To an unlawful assembly?

Bushel: No, my Lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave last night. We have no other verdict to give.

Mayor: You are a factious fellow. I'll take a course with you.

Bludworth: I knew Mr. Bushel would not yield.

Bushel: Sir Thomas, I have done according to my conscience.

Mayor: That conscience of yours would cut my throat.

Bushel: No, my Lord, it never shall.

Mayor: But I will cut yours so soon as I can.

Recorder: He has inspired the jury. He has the spirit of divination. Methinks I feel him. I will have a positive verdict or you shall starve for it.

Penn: I desire to ask the recorder one question. Do you allow of the verdict given of William Mead?

Recorder: It cannot be a verdict, because you were indicted for conspiracy, and one being found guilty and not the other, it could not be a verdict.

Penn: If *not guilty* be not a verdict, then you make of the jury and Magna Charta but a mere nose of wax.

Mead: How! Is not guilty no verdict?

Recorder: No, 'tis no verdict.

Penn: I affirm that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law, and if W. M. be not guilty, it consequently follows that I am clear, since you have indicted us of a conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone.

(There were many passages that could not be taken which passed between the jury and the court. The jury went up again, having received a fresh charge from the bench, if possible to extort an unjust verdict.)

Crier: Oyez, etc. Silence in the court!

Court: Call over the jury. (Which was done.)

Clerk: What say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form aforesaid, or not guilty?

Foreman: Guilty of speaking in Gracious Street.

Recorder: What is this to the purpose? I say, I will have a verdict. (And speaking to Edward Bushel, said:) You are a factious fellow. I will set a mark upon you, and whilst I have anything to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.

Mayor: Have you no more wit than to be led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose.

Penn: It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced. Is this according to the fundamental laws? Are not they my proper judges by the great Charter of England? What hope is there of ever having justice done, when juries are threatened and their verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Did not the Lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worse than a felon? And do you not plainly seem to condemn such for factious fellows who answer not your ends? Unhappy are those juries who are threatened to be fined and starved and ruined, if they give not in verdicts contrary to their consciences.

Recorder: My Lord, you must take a course with that same fellow.

Mayor: Stop his mouth! Jailer, bring fetters and stake him to the ground.

Penn: Do your pleasure, I matter not your fetters.

Recorder: Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with

us till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England.

(The jury being required to go together to find another verdict, and steadfastly refusing it—saying they would give no other verdict than what was already given—the recorder in great passion was running off the bench, with these words in his mouth, "I protest I will sit here no longer to hear these things"; at which the mayor calling, "Stay, stay," he returned and directed himself unto the jury, and spoke as followeth:)

Recorder: Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you. You will find the next sessions of Parliament, there will be a law that those that will not conform shall not have the protection of the law. Mr. Lee, draw up another verdict, that they may bring it in special.

Lee: I cannot tell how to do it.

Jury: We ought not to be returned, having all agreed and set our hands to the verdict.

Recorder: Your verdict is nothing. You play upon the court. I say you shall go together and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have you carted about the city as in Edward III's time.

Foreman: We have given in our verdict and all agreed to it, and if we give in another, it will be a force upon us to save our lives.

Mayor: Take them up.

The jury refused to move, and a sheriff had to leave his seat to compel them. They spent another night without food, fire or other accommodations, while Penn and Mead were sent back to Newgate. The next morning at seven o'clock the session re-opened, with the usual preliminaries. So far from giving way, the jury eliminated the evasiveness of its first verdict to clear Penn completely.

Clerk: How say you? Is William Penn guilty, etc., or not guilty?

Foreman: Not guilty.

Clerk: How say you? Is William Mead guilty, etc., or not guilty?

Foreman: Not guilty.

Clerk: Then hearken to your verdict. You say that William Penn is not guilty in manner and form as he stands indicted; you say that William Mead is not guilty in manner and form as he stands indicted, and so say you all.

Jury: Yes, we do so.

(The bench, being unsatisfied with the verdict, commanded that every person should distinctly answer to his name and give in his verdict, which they unanimously did in saying, *Not guilty,* to the great satisfaction of the assembly.)

Recorder: I am sorry, Gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands, but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid.

(At which Penn stepped up toward the bench and said:)

Penn: I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.

Mayor: No, you are in for your fines.

Penn: Fines for what?

Mayor: For contempt of the court.

Penn: I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England that any Englishman should be fined or amerced but by the judgment of his peers or jury, since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapters of the great Charter of England, which say, "No free man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."

Recorder: Take him away, take him away, take him out of the court.

Penn: I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, "Take him away, take him away." But it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a place in the recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you for all these things.

(They haled the prisoners into the bale-dock, and from thence sent them to Newgate for non-payment of their fines; as also their jury.)[20]

Edward Bushel and the other jurors appealed to the highest court in the land against their unjust fines and imprisonment. On November 7, 1670, a writ of habeas corpus was issued for Bushel, and the case was tried with the most noted lawyers in England appearing on his behalf. Their arguments were substantially the same as those presented by William Penn during his trial, and the court decided unanimously that juries are fully competent to judge whether evidence is good or bad, and that their verdict should be free. The twelve jurors were, therefore, set free in open court.

[20] *The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted . . .* (London, 1670). For other versions, see note 14.

This important sequel to the Penn-Mead trial established firmly one of the fundamental rights of Englishmen and Americans. The Marquis de Lafayette was thinking of its far-reaching significance when he said, in a toast at a public dinner in Philadelphia:

> The memories of Penn and Franklin—the one never greater than when arraigned before an English jury, or the other than before a British Parliament.[21]

Penn wrote from prison to his father on September 7, "I entreat thee not to purchase my liberty,"[22] but some unknown friend paid his fine, and he was set free. To this he could not well object, for the Admiral was now in his last illness, dying on September 16. He left his son considerable wealth, but there was an even more important legacy which Sir William had the forethought to provide. A short time before his death he wrote to King Charles II and to James, Duke of York, and asked them to show the same favor to his son that they had shown him. It is to the credit of both royal brothers that they made this promise and kept it. William Penn did not take advantage of their good will for several years, perhaps because he did not know of it. It will be noticed that in a later interview James expressed surprise that he had not called on him.

Whatever the reason, royalty held no protecting hand over him when the London authorities took their revenge for their defeat in the famous trial. In February, 1671, he was arrested for preaching at a Quaker meeting, taken to the Tower of London, and sentenced to six months in Newgate for refusal to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. He was tried without a jury, and John Robinson, Samuel Starling, and John Shelden again appeared as prosecutors and judges. Their intolerant prejudice, resulting in a complete failure to understand a point of view differing from their own, stands out clearly in this extract from the Tower trial.

> *Robinson:* Do you refuse to swear?
>
> *Penn:* Yes, and that upon better grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me swear, if thou wilt please to hear me.
>
> *Robinson:* I am sorry you should put me upon this severity. It is no pleasant work to me.
>
> *Penn:* These are but words. It is manifest this is prepense

[21] Hull, 185.

[22] Letter printed in *The Friend,* Philadelphia, VII, 8.

Statue of William Penn on the Tower of City Hall

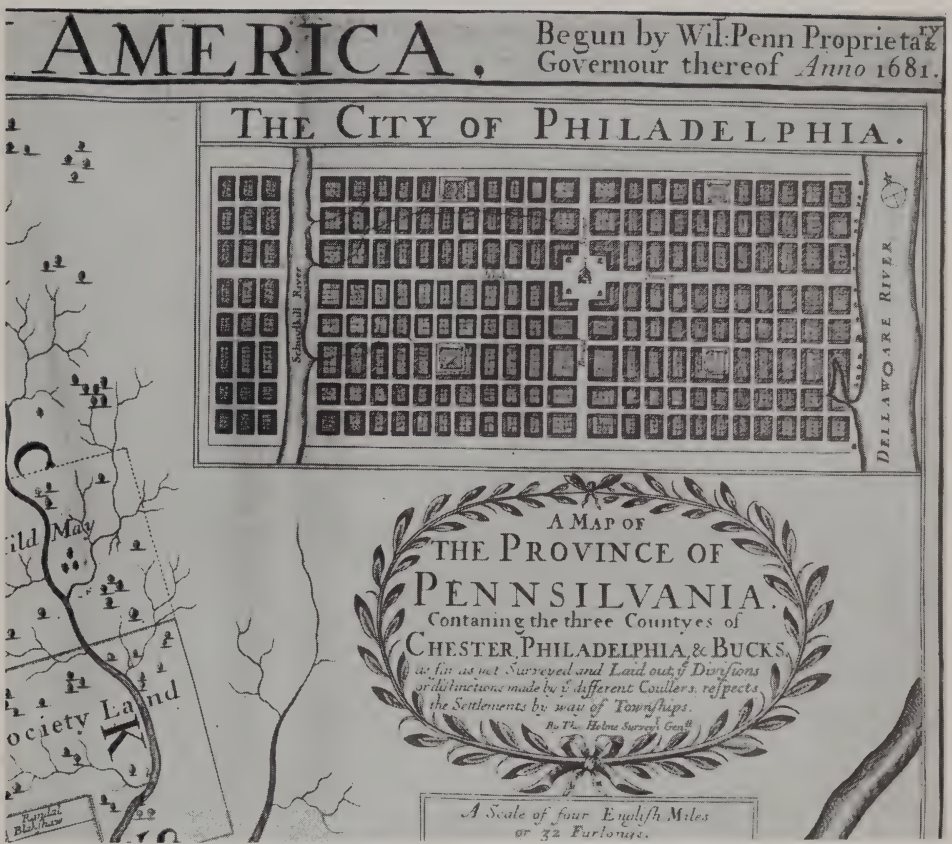
A bronze figure designed by the sculptor, A. Sterling Calder. Height of the figure 37 feet, rim of hat 23 feet in circumference, hands 4 feet long. Scroll bears the Seal of Charles II, and an inscription taken from the Preamble to the Charter, signed March 1681, giving William Penn absolute proprietary rights to the Province of Pennsylvania. Reproduced through the courtesy of Karl F. Lutz.

William Penn's First Arrival in America, at New Castle, Delaware, 1682

William Penn's First Landing in America, at New Castle, Delaware, 1682
From etchings by Arnold Anderson, 1931 in the collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A Very Early Map of Pennsylvania

Usually called the first, or Thornton Map with the date of 1681, from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

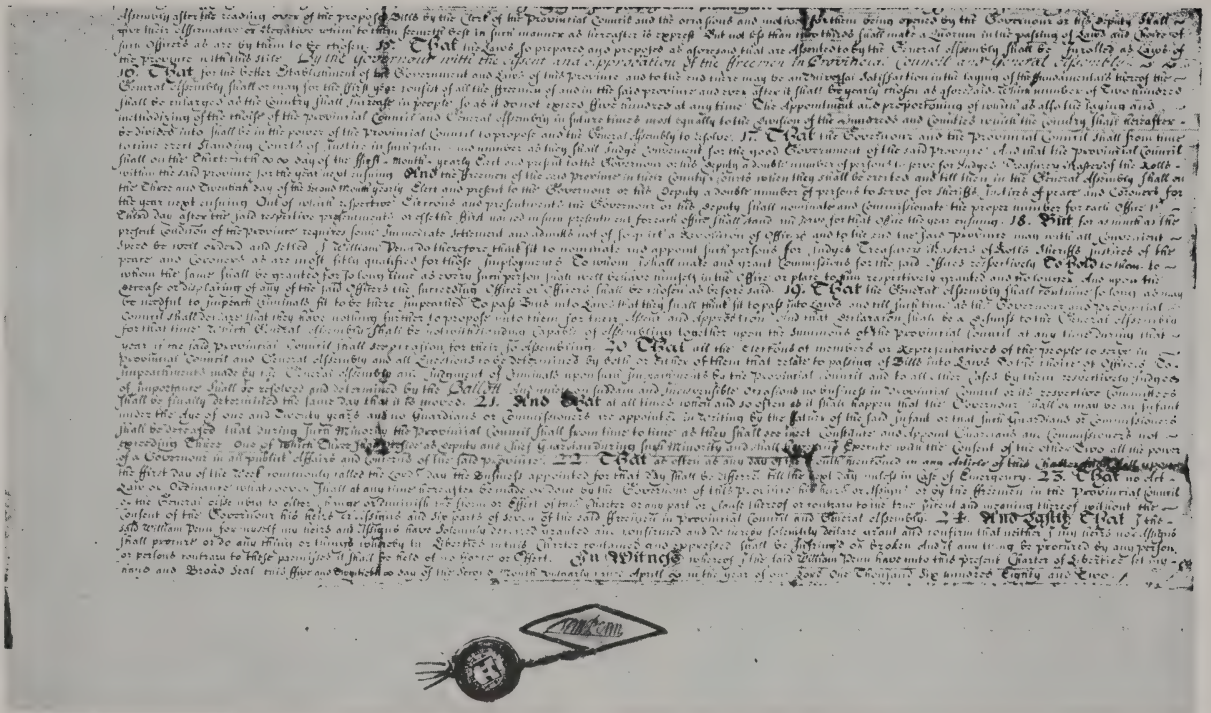

AMERICA.
Begun by Wil: Penn Proprietary & Governour thereof Anno 1681.
THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.
Schuylkill River
DELAWOARE RIVER
A MAP OF
THE PROVINCE OF
PENNSILVANIA.
Containing the three Countyes of
CHESTER, PHILADELPHIA, & BUCKS.
as far as yet Surveyed and Laid out, & Divisions
or distinctions made by ye different Coullers, respects
the Settlements by way of Townships.
By Tho. Holme Surveyr Genll
A Scale of four English Miles
or 32 Furlongs.
ild May
ociety Land

Thomas Holme's Plot of Philadelphia

Reproduced from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania showing the four public squares and the central square with a rectangular street plan for William Penn's "Greene Country Towne."

To all People

To whom these presents shall come ~ **Whereas** King Charles the second by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England for the ~ Consideration therein mentioned hath been graciously pleased to give and Grant unto the Penn City the name of William Penn Esqr Son and Heir ~ of Sr William Penn deceased and to his heirs and assigns for ever **All** that Tract of Land or Province called **Pennsilvania** in America with divers Great Powers Priviledges and Jurisdictions ~ Royalties and Franchises necessary for the well being and Government thereof. **Now Know yee** That for the well being and Government ~ of the said Province and for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters that may be therein concerned in pursuance of the powers aforementioned I the said William Penn have ~ declared granted and Confirmed and by these presents for me my heirs and assigns do declare grant and Confirm unto all the Freemen Planters and Adventurers of in and to ~ the said Province these Liberties Franchises and Properties ~~to be held enjoyed and had by the said Freemen Planters and Inhabitants of and in the said Province of Pensilvania and~~ ~ for over. **Imprimis** That the Government of this Province shall answering to the Powers of the Patent consist of the Governour and Freemen of the said Province in the ~ stead of a Provincial Council and General assembly by whom all Laws shall be made Officers Chosen and publick Affairs Transacted as is hereafter expressly declared ~ That is to say. **2. That** the Freemen of the said Province shall on the Twentieth ~~day~~ of the Twelfth Month next shall be in this present year One Thousand Six Hundred ~ Eighty and two first and assemble ~ a long full place of their own Freely without Summons or Writ to Elect and Chuse fifty Persons of most note for Wisdom Virtue and Ability who shall ~ ~~following~~ be called and sit as the Provincial Council of the said Province. **3. That** at the ~ end of three years from the first meeting of the said Provincial Council one Third part of the said Provincial Council shall go out Yearly and Cease from any longer Sitting. One Third part for Two years more next ensuing and so Third part for One year then next following until Elections and no longer and that the said Third part shall go out accordingly. **And** ~ on the Twentieth ~~day~~ of the Twelfth Month next for ever aforesaid the Freemen of the said Province shall in like manner Meet and Assemble together and ~ then Chuse Twenty three persons being one Third of the said Number to serve in Provincial Council for Three years & being intended that one Third of the whole Provincial ~ Council always consisting and to consist of Seventy two persons as aforesaid Electing off yearly & shall be yearly supplied by such new yearly Elections as aforesaid and ~ that no one person shall continue therein longer than Three years. **4. That** after the first Seven ~ Elections ~~ensuing his Decease~~ another shall be Chosen to supply his place for the remaining time he was to have served and no longer. **4. That** after the first Seven ~ Elections ~~ensuing his Decease~~ another shall be Chosen to supply his place for the remaining time he was to have served and no longer. ~ every one of the said Third parts that yearly go off shall be incapable of being Chosen again for one whole year following but for all may be fitted for Government and ~ have Exercise of his Art and publick Employ. **5. That** in the Provincial Council in all Cases and matters of moment as Bills agreeing upon Bills to be past into Laws Erecting Courts of Justice Giving Judgment and Execution in Cases of Life or Member ~~Treason and Felony~~ Marriages to be Solemnized Accounts and Charges of Government Sessions of Parliament Choice of Officers ~~Treasurer~~ Auditors Treasurer Sheriffs Coroners Escheators Clerks of the Council Clerk of the Peace Attorney General Solicitor Naturalizations Letters of Denization Licenses to Alienate Lands Tenements and Hereditaments Granting Reversions Remainders Estates Tail Partitions Dividing Common Fields Setting Forth Highways Ports Havens Creeks Keys Beacons Light Houses Post Offices Ferries Fairs Markets Corporations Cities Boroughs Towns Ports Havens Creeks Keys Beacons Light Houses Post Offices Ferries Fairs Markets Corporations Cities Boroughs Towns ~ of the whole Provincial Council shall make Quorum and that the Consent and Approbation of Two Thirds of such Quorum shall be had in all such Cases or matters ~ of Moment. And moreover that in all such and matters of lesser moment Twenty four Members of the said Provincial Council shall make a Quorum The Majority of which ~ Quorum shall Determine. And moreover that in all such and matters of lesser moment Twenty four Members of the said Provincial Council shall make a Quorum The Majority of which ~ Quorum shall Determine. And moreover that in all such and matters of lesser moment Twenty four Members of the said Provincial Council shall make a Quorum The Majority of which ~ Quorum shall Determine. **6. That** in the Provincial Council the Governour or his Deputy shall ~ have a Treasurer of his Own and publick Seal. **5. That** in the Provincial Council in all Cases and matters of moment as Bills agreeing upon Bills to be past into ~ Laws Erecting Courts of Justice Giving Judgment and Execution in Cases of Life or Member ~~Treason and Felony~~ Marriages to be Solemnized Accounts and Charges of Government Sessions of Parliament Choice of Officers ~~Treasurer~~ Auditors Treasurer Sheriffs Coroners Escheators Clerks of the Council Clerk of the Peace Attorney General Solicitor Naturalizations Letters of Denization Licenses to Alienate Lands Tenements and Hereditaments Granting Reversions Remainders Estates Tail Partitions Dividing Common Fields Setting Forth Highways Ports Havens Creeks Keys Beacons Light Houses Post Offices Ferries Fairs Markets Corporations Cities Boroughs Towns ~ of the whole Provincial Council shall make Quorum and that the Consent and Approbation of Two Thirds of such Quorum shall be had in all such Cases or matters ~ of Moment. And moreover that in all such and matters of lesser moment Twenty four Members of the said Provincial Council shall make a Quorum The Majority of which ~ Quorum shall Determine. And moreover that in all such and matters of lesser moment Twenty four Members of the said Provincial Council shall make a Quorum The Majority of which ~ Quorum shall Determine. **6. That** in the Provincial Council the Governour or his Deputy shall ~ have a Treasurer of his Own and publick Seal. ~ Hours and Twenty shall and may always Determine ~ in such Cases and Causes of Life moment



William Penn's Charter of Liberties for Pennsylvania, 1682
A facsimile of the original in the State Museum, Harrisburg.

William Penn's Landing at Chester, 1682

William Penn's Landing at Philadelphia, 1682
From woodcuts in Watson's *Annals,* 1845.

malice. Thou hast several times laid the meetings for me, and this day in particular.

Robinson: No, I profess I could not tell you would be there.

Penn: Thine own corporal told me that you had intelligence at the Tower, that I would be at Wheeler Street today, almost as soon as I knew it myself. It is disingenuous and partial. I never gave thee occasion for such unkindness.

Robinson: I knew no such thing; but if I had, I confess I should have sent for you.

Penn: That might have been spared, I do heartily believe it.

Robinson: I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you. You are an ingenious gentleman, all the world must allow you, and do allow you that, and you have a plentiful estate. Why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?

Penn: I confess I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple.

Robinson: I wish you wiser.

Penn: And I wish thee better.

Robinson: You have been as bad as other folks.

Penn: When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face.

Robinson: Abroad, and at home too.

Sir John Shelden (as is supposed): No, no, Sir John! That is too much. (Or words to that purpose.)

Penn: I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, justly to accuse me of ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word (much less that I ever made it my practice). I speak this to God's glory, that has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that from a child begat an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, "that they were once as they are . . ." Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet.

Robinson: Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindness for you.

Penn: But thou hast an ill way of expressing it. You are grown too high to consider the plea of those you call your forefathers, for liberty of conscience against the Papists,

Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. It was then plea good enough, "my conscience won't let me go to mass," and "my conscience wills that I should have an English Testament." But that single plea for separation, *then reasonable,* is now by you that pretend to succeed them, adjudged unreasonable and factious. I say, since the only just cause of the revolt from Rome, was a dissatisfaction in point of conscience, you cannot reasonably persecute others who have right to the same plea, and allow that to be warrantable.

Robinson: But you do nothing but stir up the people to sedition: and there was one of your friends that told me you preached sedition, and meddled with the government.

Penn: We have the unhappiness to be misrepresented, and I am not the least concerned therewith. Bring me the man that will dare to justify this accusation to my face, and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice and all my friends, to instil principles of peace and moderation (and only war against spiritual wickedness, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteousness), I shall contentedly undergo the severest punishment all your laws can expose me to. As for the King, I make this offer, that if any living man can make it appear, directly or indirectly, from the time I have been called a Quaker (since from thence you date me seditious), I have contrived or acted anything injurious to his person, or the English government, I shall submit my person to your utmost cruelties, and esteem them all but a due recompense. It is hard that I, being innocent, should be reputed guilty; but the will of God be done. I accept of bad report as well as good.

Robinson: Well, I must send you to Newgate for six months; and when they are expired you will come out.

Penn: Is that all? Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest; you will miss your aim; this is not the way to compass your ends.

Robinson: You bring yourself into trouble; you will be the heading of parties, and drawing people after you.

Penn: Thou mistakest: there is no such way as this to render men remarkable. You are angry that I am considerable; and yet you take the very way to make me so, by making this bustle and stir about one peaceable person.

Robinson: I wish your adhering to these things do not convert you to something at last.

Penn: I would have thee and all other men to know that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it; mine is, and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it, I am no ways careful, but resigned to answer the will of God, by the loss of goods, liberty, and life itself. When you have all, you can have no more; and then, perhaps, you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our innocency. Thy religion *persecutes,* and mine *forgives;* and I desire my God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation.

Robinson: Send a corporal with a file of musqueteers along with him.

Penn: No, no, send thy lackey; I know the way to Newgate.[23]

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

Penn made good use of his next imprisonment by writing numerous letters and pamphlets in defence of his principles, and revising his famous treatise, *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience.* This presentation of the case for religious liberty marshalled hundreds of quotations from writers of all ages in support of his thesis that true faith must be free and not forced, "that man cannot be said to have any religion, that takes it by another man's choice, not his own." [24] His basic argument was well summarized in a part of a letter to some magistrates in 1674:

> The nature of body and soul, earth and heaven, this world and that to come, differs. There can be no reason to persecute any *man in this world* about anything that *belongs to the next.* Who art thou (saith the Holy Scripture), that judgeth another man's servant? He must stand or fall to his master, the great God. Let tares and wheat grow together till the great harvest. To call for fire from heaven was no part of Christ's religion, though he reproved zeal of some of his disciples. His sword is spiritual, like his kingdom. Be pleased to remember that faith is the gift of God; and what is not of faith, is sin. We must either be hypocrites in doing what we believe in our consciences we ought not to do, or forbearing what we are fully persuaded we ought to do.

[23] *Works,* I, 39-40; Janney, 80-84.

[24] *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience,* quoted in Comfort, 118.

> Either give us better faith, or leave us with such as we have, for it seems unreasonable in you to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other.[25]

William Penn's efforts on behalf of his persecuted fellow-believers were renewed after his term in Newgate had been served. When the Quaker leader, George Fox, was imprisoned, Penn went to court again, as related in another autobiographical fragment.

> The third time I came to court was in '73, having not frequented it for five years. The business that drew me thither was the imprisonment of that servant of God, my worthy friend George Fox, in Worcester Castle—the cause worshipping of God after another manner than that of the Church of England—and least it should prove too feeble a type to hold him, the Justices of the Peace that had layd his commitment, officiously tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, not that he should take them, but because they were pretty sure he would not take them, as a supplemental snare to gratify their humour and accomplish their design against him. This ending in a Praemunire, and finding no applications in the country, were like to succeed for his deliverance out of the hands of some angry obstinate persons: It was resolved amongst *us* at London, to remove him by Habeas Corpus to the Kings Bench, and to try what we could do at the court to procure his discharge.
>
> It fell to my lot to go on this errand, in which solicitation William Mead accompanied me. The person we first addressed ourselves to was the Earl of Middlesex, now also Dorsat; who advised us to make our application to the Duke of York, as most powerful with the King, and that if *he* would receive us, that no body would be more zealous to perform what he undertook; adding he would speak to him, and that Fleetwood Shepherd should introduce us.
>
> The time being fixt, we found that gentleman as was agreed, and went with him to the Duke's Palace, where he endeavoured our admission by the means of the Dutchess's Secretary; but the house being very full of people, and the Duke of business, the said Secretary could neither procure our nor his own admission; But Col. Aston, of the Bedchamber, then in waiting, and my old acquaintance and friend, (yet I had not seen him in some years before) looking hard at me, thinking he should know me, askt me in the Drawing Room, first my name and then my business; and upon understanding both, he presently gave us the favour

[25] *Works,* I, 169; Janney, 100-101.

we waited for, of speaking with the Duke, who came immediately out of his Closet to us.

After something I said, as an introduction to the business, I delivered him our Request. He perused it, and then told us, "that he was against all Persecution for the sake of Religion. That it was true he had in his younger time been warm, especially, when he thought people made it a pretence to disturb Government—but, that he had seen and considered things better, and he was for doing to others as he would have others do unto him; and he thought it would be happy for the world if all were of that mind, for he was sure, he said, that no man was willing to be persecuted himself for his own conscience." He added, "that he looked upon us as a quiet industrious people, and tho' he was not of our judgment, yet he liked our good lives," with much more to the same purpose, promising he would speak to his brother, and doubted not but that the King's Counsel would have orders in our Friends favour.

I and my Companion spoke as occasion offered to recommend both our business and our character, but the less because he prevented us in the manner I have expressed.

When he had done upon this affair, he was pleased to take a very particular notice of me, both for the relation my Father had had to his service in the Navy, and the care he had promised him to show in my regard upon all occasions. That he wondered I had not been with him, and that whenever I had any business thither, he would order that I should have access—after which he withdrew, and we returned.

This was my first visit to the Court after five years retirement, and this the success of it, and the first time I had spoken with him since '65. That it should be gratefull to me was no wonder, and perhaps that with some was the beginning of my faults at Court: but what impression it made upon my companion, and the expressions he used to declare it, cannot well escape the memory of F. Shepherd, to whom in the Garden he presently related what had past, and his own extraordinary satisfaction, both in that and the Duke.[26]

The results of this interview with the Duke are shown in a letter to the prisoner:

Dear George Fox:

Thy dear and tender love in thy last letter I received, and for thy business thus: A great lord, a man of noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty.

[26] "Fragments . . .", *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part II, 240-242.

> He prevailed with the King for a pardon, but that we rejected. Then he pressed for a more noble release, that better answered hath. He prevailed, and got the King's hand to a release. It sticks with the Lord Keeper, and we have used and do use what interest we can. The King is angry with him (the Lord Keeper), and promiseth very largely and lovingly; so that, if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. But we have sought after a writ of error these ten days past, well nigh resolving to be as sure as we can; and an habeas corpus is gone or will go tomorrow night. My dear love salutes thee and thy dear wife. Things are brave as to Truth in these parts; great conviction upon the people. My wife's dear love is to you all. I long and hope ere long to see thee. So, dear George Fox, am, etc.
>
> WILLIAM PENN[27]

The rumor that King Charles II was secretly a Catholic, and the certainty that the Duke of York, an avowed Catholic, would succeed to the throne, made the Parliament and its supporters increasingly nervous. The laws against men who would not conform to the Church of England were enforced even more strictly, and these fell as severely upon the Friends as upon the Catholics. A group in Parliament, however, began to bid for the support of the smaller Protestant sects, and the possibility of exempting Protestant Non-conformists from the operation of these laws was considered. A special oath was to be provided. The Friends, of course, had scruples about taking oaths, and William Penn, therefore, presented petitions to both Houses of Parliament, asking that they be allowed to give their word rather than take an oath, subject to the same penalties for perjury. In March, 1678, he was called before a Parliamentary committee, and made this speech:

> If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and this to every sober and private inquirer, certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great an authority, what is not our hope; especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and when we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings, for so must every man needs be who suffers mutely under another character than that which truly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a

[27] Janney, 103.

more than ordinary right to speak at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse which I have received above any other of my profession; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope—a man dedicating my endeavors to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that, what with one thing and what with another, we have been as the woolsacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom: all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us; and this, not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration.

I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers, that Papists should be whipt for their consciences. No: for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand. And I humbly beg leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or, indeed, adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration.

To conclude; I hope we shall be excused of the men of that [the Roman Catholic] profession, in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them, but, first, to pay that regard we owe to the inquiry of this Committee, and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin, which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws which we humbly conceive, were never made against us.[28]

[28] *Works,* I, 118-119.

TOWARD RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The House of Commons was so much impressed by this and later testimony of William Penn that a clause was inserted in the bill granting what he asked. The King suddenly sent the Parliament home, however, and the bill was lost. By summer, 1678, the fires of intolerance burned even more brightly. The infamous Titus Oates made his mendacious disclosure of a Popish plot to murder the king, and burn all the large cities of England. The Jesuits, he said, had caused the great fire of London. Popular passion ran high, and was used to advantage by those who hoped to exclude the Duke of York from the throne.

King Charles and his advisers bent before the storm, the King going so far as to strip his brother of his command of the fleet. The next few years saw a duel between the wily King and the party which wished to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne. Meanwhile, the penal laws against Non-conformists were enforced with utmost rigor. At this time William Penn wrote his *Address to Protestants of all Persuasions,* which has the following outstanding passages. First is a statement of the causes of persecution.

> . . . The authors of it have little or no religion at heart.
>
> . . . A gross and general mistake about the nature of Christ's church and kingdom, which is not an outward or worldly kingdom that can be set up by man and sustained by coercive laws, but it consists of the reign of God in the souls of men; it is a spiritual kingdom, and none but spiritual weapons are to be used to reclaim those who are ignorant or disobedient.
>
> A third great cause of persecution is this, that men make *too many* things necessary to be believed to salvation and communion.
>
> Persecution entered with creed making.
>
> Religion is *gentle,* it makes men better, more friendly, loving, and patient than before.[29]

In the frenzied political and religious turmoil of those years, such moderate and reasonable courses as Penn advocated seemed impracticable. Though he was personally in good standing at court, he could do less and less for his persecuted fellow-believers. King Charles was not a persecutor at heart, but in these times political circumstances

[29] Janney, 138-139.

compelled him even to sign death warrants for Catholics with whom he sympathized; he would not intervene to save Quakers from prison.

William Penn took an active part in the great political compaigns of 1679, twice backing his old friend Algernon Sidney for election to Parliament. His support of this Puritan republican, just returned from exile, revealed Penn's true political position. As campaign literature for Sidney, Penn wrote *England's Great Interest in the Choice of a New Parliament,* which called for the protection of Protestantism, the punishment of bribery and corruption, limitation of the King's power to prolong the life of Parliaments until they no longer represented public feeling, and the preservation of all the fundamental rights of Englishmen. Royal pressure was exerted against such dangerous doctrines, and Sidney was defeated each time by political trickery. Penn's role in this election demonstrates the essential falsity of the German historian's paradox, that "The man who on the other side of the ocean had laid the foundations of a future republic, appeared on this side as a champion of monarchical ideas." [30] His relations with royalty were based on personal friendship, not on political support.

The outlook for the future of his religious beliefs and of his political ideas in England was very dark. To men of his time England seemed to be on the verge of a second Civil War. In these circumstances William Penn turned his attention to lands across the sea. He did not give up his campaign for religious toleration and for the fundamental liberties of Englishmen; now he transferred them to a new field. In Pennsylvania he established a refuge for men of all creeds, a model state or—as he called it—*a holy experiment* in which his ideals could be realized.

In later years he resumed his efforts for religious toleration in his native England. As adviser and friend of King James II, he applauded the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience which that monarch issued in 1687. When James was driven from the throne by the Revolution of 1688, Penn's influence at court was gone, and he was even suspected of disloyalty to the new rulers, William and Mary. Nevertheless, the principles which he had advocated were victorious. In 1689, Parliament passed an Act of Toleration, substantially granting the religious liberty for which he had contended; and the very Revolution which overthrew his friend guaranteed the fundamental rights of Englishmen.

[30] Von Ranke, Leopold, *A History of England . . .*, IV, 316.

IV

WILLIAM PENN THE BUILDER OF STATES

The fame of William Penn as the founder of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has tended to eclipse his notable achievements in other fields. In the new lands across the Atlantic, he effected a practical application of his religious faith and his political ideals. His directing hand was felt not only in the foundation of the State which bears his family name. New Jersey and Delaware also came under his beneficent influence. In these three colonies, the religious freedom and popular rights for which he had contended in England were established on lasting foundations.

William Penn's interest in New World colonization was first manifested about 1675, when he became associated with other Quakers as trustees of West New Jersey. In 1676, he took part in the drafting of a constitution, entitled *Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey.* Many principles of Pennsylvania's government were foreshadowed in this document, which is described in the following excerpt from a letter to a prominent Friend in the province:

> We have made concessions by ourselves; being such as Friends here, and there, (we question not,) will approve of, having sent a copy of them to James Wasse; there we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians, that they may not be brought in bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people, that is to say, they to meet and choose one honest man for each propriety who hath subscribed the concessions; all these men to meet as an assembly, there to make and repeal laws, to choose a governor, or a commissioner, and twelve assistants to execute the laws during their pleasure; so every man is capable to choose or to be chosen. No man to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned or molested in his estate or liberty but by twelve men of the neighborhood; no man to lie in prison for debt, but that his estate satisfy as far as it will go, and he be set at liberty to work; no person to be called in question or molested for his conscience, or for worshipping according to his conscience; with many more things mentioned in the said concessions.[1]

[1] Letter from Penn and other trustees to Richard Hartshorne, August 26, 1676, quoted in Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania* . . . 1, 139; Janney, 112-113.

The colony of West New Jersey grew and prospered, and eventually William Penn joined in another partnership which brought the other half of this province from its owners. Though New Jersey was returned to the Crown in 1702, becoming a royal province, it did not lose the liberties which Penn and his fellow-Quakers had granted.

His partnership in the colony of New Jersey may have led William Penn to dream of another colony of his very own in the neighboring territory across the Delaware River. About this land he had built up a considerable store of information, as a result of his New Jersey interests. He thus became aware of the only large area then remaining unsettled and undeveloped in what are now the Middle Atlantic States. Here, on a grand scale, he could set up an example of toleration and liberty. The story is quaintly told by Robert Proud:

> The views of William Penn, in the colonization of Pennsylvania, were most manifest[ly] the best and most exalted, that could occupy the human mind; to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could possibly bear, in their civil capacity. and in their religious state, to restore to them those lost rights and privileges, with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race. This, in part, he effected; and, by those means, which Providence, in the following manner, put into his hands, he so far brought to pass, as both to excite the admiration of strangers, and to fix in posterity, that love and honor for his memory, which the length of future time will scarcely ever be able to efface.
>
> It has already been observed, that the eminent public services of Admiral Penn had brought him in favor at court; to which favor his son, William Penn, succeeded, notwithstanding the singularity of the choice of his mode of life. There was a large sum of money[2] due, from the government, to the Admiral, at the time of his death; much of which he himself had advanced for the sea services; the rest was for arrearages in his pay. In consequence of this debt, William Penn, in the summer of the year 1680 petitioned King Charles the second, that letters patent might be granted him, for a tract of land, in America, lying north of Maryland; on the east, bounded by Delaware river; on the west limited as Maryland; and northward to extend as far as plantable.
>
> This was first laid before the Privy Council, and afterwards, the Lords of the committee of trade and plantations. After several meetings on the occasion, in which the objections, from the Duke of York, by his agent, Sir John Werden, as

[2] About sixteen thousand pounds, roughly approximate to $80,000.

proprietor of that tract of Land, since called, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware;[3] and from the Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated; the Lord Chief Justice North, and the Attorney-General, Sir William Jones, being consulted both respecting the grant itself, and also the form, or manner, of making it. The affair was at length, resulted in William Penn's favor; and he was, by charter, dated at Westminster, the fourth day of March, 1681, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land and province, now called Pennsylvania, and invested with the powers of government of the same.[4]

The Charter of Pennsylvania was signed by King Charles on March 4, and formally proclaimed on April 2, 1681. By this document Pennsylvania was officially created and named, and William Penn was made its first Governor and Proprietor. The provisions of the Charter are so important to a proper understanding of the early government of the Province that it is given in full, from the version printed by the State Library in 1939. For easier reading, paragraphing and section headings have been introduced.

THE CHARTER OF KING CHARLES II OF ENGLAND TO WILLIAM PENN

CHARLES THE SECOND, BY THE GRACE OF GOD King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., To all to whome these presents shall come GREETING.

[*Preamble*]

WHEREAS our Trustie and well beloved Subject, William Penn, Esquire, sonn and heire of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such usefull comodities as may bee of benefitt to us and our Dominions, as alsoe to reduce the Savage Natives by gentle and just manners to the love of civill Societie and Christian Religion hath humbley besought leave of us to transport an ample colonie unto a certaine Countrey hereinafter described in the partes of America not yet cultevated and planted. And hath likewise humbley besought our Royall majestie to give grant, and confirme all the said countrey with certaine priviledges and jurisdictions requisite for the good Government and saftie of the said Countrey and Colonie, to him and his heires forever.

[3] The present State of Delaware.
[4] Proud, I, 168-170.

[*Section I.*]

KNOW YEE, therefore, that wee, favouring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and haveing regard to the memorie and meritts of his late father, in divers services, and perticulerly to his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James Duke of Yorke, in that signall battell and victorie, fought and obteyned against the Dutch fleete, comanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the yeare One thousand six hundred sixtie five, in consideration thereof of our special grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, Have given and granted, and by this our present Charter, for us, our heires and sucessors, Doe give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes all that tract or parte of land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance, Northwarde of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude if the said River doeth extend soe farre Northwards; But if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northward, then by the said River soe farr as it doth extend, and from the head of the said River the Easterne bounds are to bee determined by a meridian line, to bee drawn from the head of the said River unto the said three and fortieth degree, the said lands to extend Westwards, five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawne at twelve miles, distance from New Castle Northwards, and Westwards unto the begining of the fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude; and then by a streight line Westwards, to the limit of Longitude above mentioned.

[*Section II.*]

WEE DOE alsoe give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, the free and undisturbed use, and continuance in and passage into and out of all and singular Ports, harbours, Bayes, waters, rivers, Isles and Inletts, belonging unto or leading to and from the Countrey, or Islands aforesaid; and all the soyle, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountaines, hills, fenns, Isles, Lakes, Rivers, waters, rivuletts, Bays and Inletts, scituate or being within or belonging unto the Limitts and Bounds aforesaid togeather with the fishing of all sortes of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all royall and other fishes in the sea, bayes, Inletts, waters or Rivers, within the premises, and the fish therein taken, and alsoe all veines, mines and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gemms and pretious Stones, and other whatsoever, stones, metalls, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found or to bee found within the Countrey, Isles, or Limitts aforesaid.

[*Section III.*]

And him the said William Penn, his heires and assignees, WEE DOE by this our Royall Charter, for us, our heires and successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute proprietaries of the Countrey aforesaid, and of all other, the premises, saving always to us, our heires and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, and of all other, the proprietaries tenants and Inhabitants that are, or shall be within the Territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving alsoe unto us, our heires and Successors, the Sovreignity of the aforesaid Countrey, TO HAVE, hold and possesse and enjoy the said tract of land, Countrey, Isles, Inletts and other the premises, unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, to the only proper use and behoofe of the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes forever. To bee holden of us, our heires and Successors, Kings of England, as of our Castle of Windsor, in our County of Berks, in free and comon socage by fealty only for all services, and not in Capite or by Knights service, Yeelding and paying therefore to us, our heires and Successors, two Beaver Skins to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor, on the first day of January, in every yeare; and also the fifth parte of all Gold and silver Oare, which shall from time to time happen to bee found within the Limitts aforesaid, cleare of all charges, and of our further grace certaine knowledge and meere motion, wee have thought fit to Erect, and wee doe hereby Erect the aforesaid Countrey and Islands, into a province and Seigniorie, and doe call itt Pensilvania, and soe from henceforth wee will have itt called.

[*Section IV.*]

AND forasmuch as wee have hereby made, and ordayned the aforesaid William Penn, his heires and assignes, the true and absolute Proprietaries of all the Lands and Dominions aforesaid. KNOW YEE therefore, that wee reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelitie, wisedome, Justice and provident circumspection of the said William Penn, for us, our heires and successors, Doe grant free, full and absolute power, by vertue of these presents to him and his heirs, and to his and their Deputies, and Lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said Countrey, to ordayne, make, enact and under his and their Seales to publish any Lawes whatsoever, for the raising of money for the publick use of the said province, or for any other end apperteyning either unto the publick state peace, or safety of the said Countrey, or unto the private utility of perticular persons, according unto their best discretions, by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said Countrey, or the greater parte of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for the Enacting of said Lawes, when, and as often as need shall require. WEE WILL, that the said William Penn, and his heires shall assemble in

such sort and forme as to him and them shall seeme best, and the same lawes duely to execute unto, and upon all people within the said Countrey and limitts thereof.

[*Section V.*]

AND WEE doe likewise give and grant unto the said William Penn, and his heires, and to his and their Deputies and Lieutenants, such power and authorities to appoint and establish any Judges, and Justices, magistrates and officers whatsoever, for what causes soever, for the probates of wills and for the granting of administrations within the precincts aforesaid, and with what power soever, and in such forme as to the said William Penn, or his heires, shall seeme most convenient. Alsoe to remitt, release, pardon and abolish, whether before Judgement or after, all crimes and offences, whatsoever committed within the said Countrey, against the said Lawes, treason and wilfull and malitious murder onely excepted; and in those cases, to grant reprieves untill our pleasure may bee knowne therein, and to doe all and every other thing and things which unto the compleate establishment of Justice unto Courts and Tribunalls, formes of Judicature and manner of proceedings doe belong, altho' in these presents expresse mention bee not made thereof; and by Judges by them delegated to award processe, hold pleas and determine in all the said Courts and Tribunalls, all actions, suits and causes whatsoever, as well crminall as civill, personall, reall and mixt, which Lawes, soe as aforesaid, to bee published, Our pleasure is, and soe WEE enjoyne require and comand shall bee most absolute and avaylable in law, and that all the Liege people and Subjects of us, our heires and successors, doe observe and keepe the same inviolable in those partes, soe farr as they concerne them, under the paine therein expressed, or to bee expressed. Provided; Nevertheles, that the said Lawes bee consonant to reason, and bee not repugnant or contrarie, but as neere as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes, statutes and rights of this our Kingdome of England, and saveing and reserving to us, our heires and successors, the receiving, heareing and determining of the appeale and appeales, of all or any person or persons, of, in or belon[g]ing to the territories aforesaid, or touching any Judgement to bee there made or given.—

[*Section VI.*]

AND forasmuch as in the Government of soe great a Countrey, sudden accidents doe often happen, whereunto itt will bee necessarie to apply a remedie before the freeholders of the said Province, or their Delegates or Deputies can bee assembled to the makeing of Lawes, neithier will it be convenient that instantly upon every such emergent occasion, soe greate a multitude should be called together. Therefore, for the better Government of the said Countrey, WEE

WILL, and ordeyne, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Doe grant unto the said William Penn, and his heires, by themselves or by their magistrates and officers, in that behalfe, duely to bee ordeyned as aforesaid, to make and constitute, fitt and wholesome ordinances from time to time within the said Countrey, to bee kept and observed as well for the preservation of the peace, as for the better government of the people there inhabiting, and pulickly to notifie the same, to all persons whome the same doeth or any way may concerne, which ordinances our will and pleasure is, shall be observed inviolably within the said Province, under paines therein to bee expressed, soe as the said ordinances bee consonant to reason and bee not repugnant nor contrary, but soe farre as conveniently may bee agreeable with the Lawes of our kingdome of England, and soe as the said ordinances be not extended in any sort to bind, charge or take away the right or interest of any person or persons, for or in their life, members, freehold, goods or Chattells; and our further will and pleaure is, that the Lawes for regulateing and governing of propertie, within the said Province, as well for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enjoyment and succession of goods and Chattells, and likewise as to felonies, shall bee and continue the same as shall bee for the time being, by the generall course of the Law in our Kingdome of England, untill the said Lawes shall bee altered by the said William Penn, his heires or assignes, and by the freemen of the said Province, their Delegates or Deputies, or the greater part of them.

[*Section VII.*]

AND to the End the said William Penn, or heires, or other, the Planters. Owners or Inhabitants of the said Province, may not att any time hereafter, by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid, through inadvertiencie or designe, depart from that faith and due allegiance which by the Lawes of this our Realme of England, they and all our subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, always owe unto us, our heires and successors, by colour of any extent or largenesse of powers hereby given, or pretended to bee given, or by force or colour of any lawes hereafter to bee made in the said Province, by virtue of any such powers. Our further will and pleasure is, that a transcript or Duplicate of all lawes which shall bee soe as aforesaid, made and published within the said province, shall within five yeares after the makeing thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy Councell, for the time being, of us, our heires and successors; and if any of the said Lawes within the space of six moneths, after that they shall be soe transmitted and delivered, bee declared by us, our heires and successors in our or their privy Concell, inconsistent with the sovereignety or lawfull prerogative of us, our heirs or successors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due by the legall Government of this realme, from the said William Penn, or his heires, or of the

William Penn, The Founder
From the original painting by Henry Inman in the old City Hall, Chestnut and Fifth Streets, Philadelphia.

Five Views of Pennsbury Manor, Bucks County, Pennsylvania

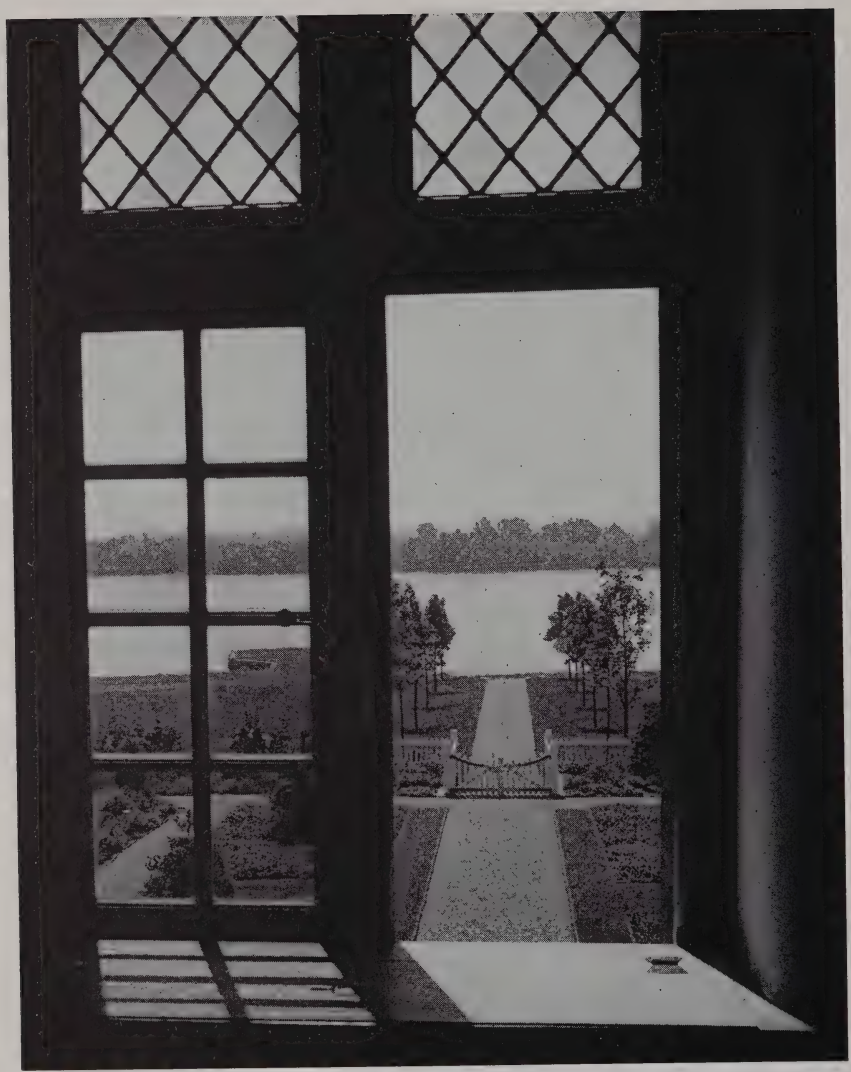
The re-created home of William Penn, begun 1683; restored by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission 1938.

1. *The Manor House with Garden, Showing Bakehouse and Brewhouse*

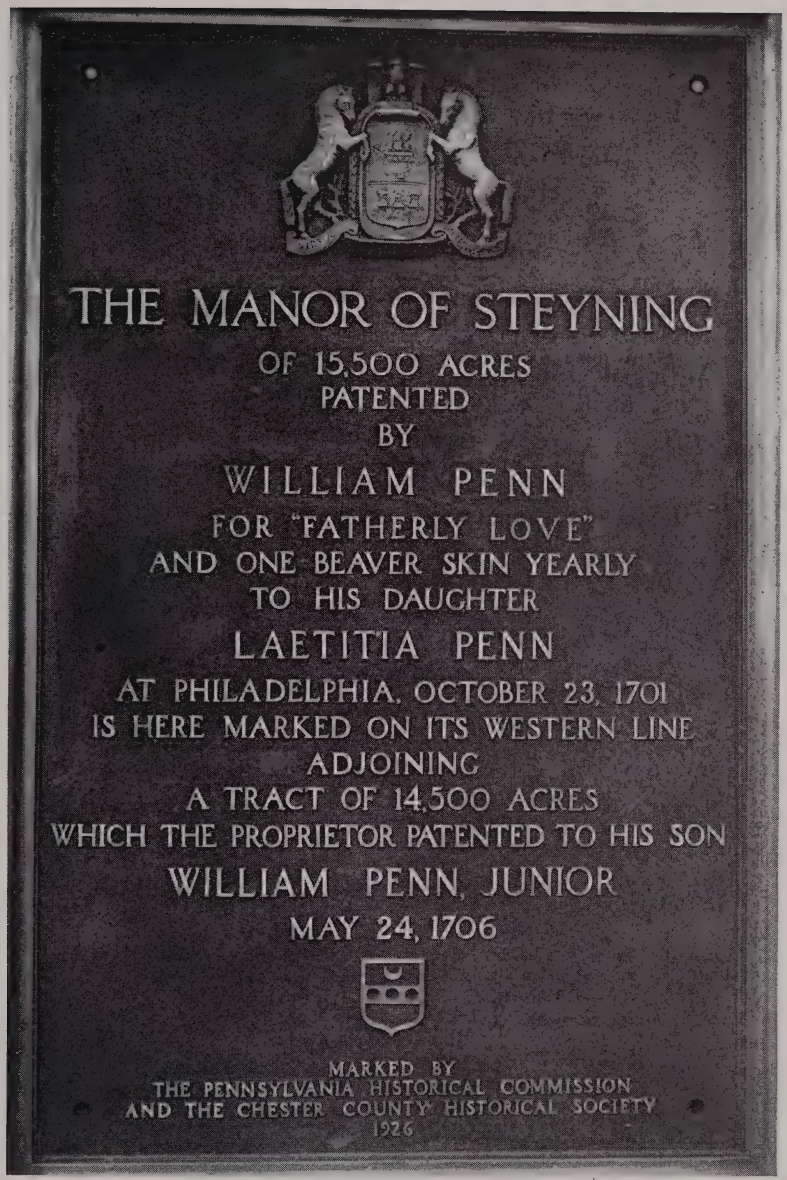
2. *View from Corner of the Garden*

3. *View of Smokehouse and Office*

4. Stable with Room for Twelve Horses, Looking Southwest



5. *View Across the Delaware from the Front Door*



Marker Erected in Chester County to Commemorate One of a Number of Manor Grants Made by William Penn

Obverse of the Great Seal of William Penn, Chief Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania
Bearing the words Mercy, Justice.

Reverse of the Great Seal
Bearing the words Truth, Peace, Love, Plenty, 1699.

Planters and Inhabitants of the said province; and that thereupon any of the said Lawes shall bee adjuged and declared to bee void by us, our heires or successors, under our or their Privy Seale, that then, and from thenceforth such Lawes concerning which such Judgement and declaration shall bee made, shall become voyd, otherwise the said lawes soe transmitted, shall remaine and stand in full force according to the true intent and meaneing thereof.

[*Section VIII.*]

FURTHERMORE, that this new Colony may the more happily increase, by the multitude of people resorting thither: THEREFORE, WEE, for us, our heires and successors, doe give and grant by these presents, power licence and libertie unto all the liege people and subjects, both present and future of us, our heires and successors, excepting those who shall bee especially forbidden, to transport themselves and families unto the said Countrey, with such convenient shipping, as by the lawes of this, our kingdome of England, they ought to use with fitting provisions paying only the customes therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabitt and plant for the publick and their own private advantage.

[*Section IX.*]

AND FURTHERMORE, that our subjects may bee the rather encouraged to undertake this expedition with ready and cheerful mindes. KNOW YEE, that wee of our especial grace certaine knowledge and meere motion, Doe give and grant by vertue of these presents, as well unto the said William Penn and his heires, as to all others who shall from time to time repaire unto the said Countrey, with a purpose to inhabitt there, or to trade with the natives of the said Countrey, full license to lade and freight in any Ports whatsoever of us, our heires and successors, according to the lawes made, or to be made within our kingdome of England, and into the said Countrey, by them, theire servants or assignes, to transport all and singular theire wares, goods and merchandise, as likewise, all sorts of graine whatsoever, and all other things whatsoever necessary for food or clothing, not prohibited by the lawes and Statutes of our kingdomes and Dominions, to be carryed out of the said kingdomes without any lett or molestation of us, our heires and successors, or of any the officers of us, our heires and successors, saveing alwayes to us, our heires and successors, the legall impositions, customes and other duties and payments for the said wares and merchandize, by any law or statute due or to be due to us, our heires and successors.

[*Section X.*]

AND WEE DOE further for us, our heires and Successors, give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, free and absolute power to Divide the said Countrey, and Islands, into Townes, Hundreds and Counties, and to erect and incorporate Townes into Borroughs, and Borroughs into Cities, and to make and constitute ffaires and marketts therein, with all other convenient privileges and immunities according to the meritt of the inhabitants, and the ffitness of the places; & to doe all and every other thing and things touching the premises which to him or them shall seeme requisite, and meet, albeit they be such as of their owne nature might otherwise require a more especiall comandment and warrant, then in these presents is expressed.

[*Section XI.*]

WEE WILL ALSOE, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, WEE doe give and grant licence by this our charter, unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, and to all inhabitants and dwellers in province aforesaid, both present, and to come to import or unlade by themselves or their Servants, ffactors or assignes, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever, that t[s] shall arise of the fruites and comodities of the said province, either by Land or Sea, into any of the Ports of us, our heires and successors, in our kingdome of England, and not into any other countrey whatsoever. And WEE give him full power to dispose of the said goods in the said ports, and if need bee, within one yeare next after the unladeing of the same, to lade the said merchandizes and goods again into the same or other shipps, and to export the same into any other Countreys, either of our Dominions or fforreigne, according to lawe: PROVIDED alwayes that they pay such, customes and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same to us, our heires and successors, as the rest of our subjects of our kingdome of England, for the time being shall be bound to pay, and doe observe the acts of Navigation and other lawes in that behalfe made.

[*Section XII.*]

AND FURTHERMORE, of our more ample and especiall grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, WEE DOE, for us, our heires and successors, Grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, full and absolute power and authoritie, to make, erect and constitute within the said province, and the Isles and Isletts aforesaid, such and soe many Seaports, harbours, Creeks, Havens, Keyes and other places, for discharge and unladeing of goods, & merchandize out of the shipps, boates and other vessells, and Ladeing them in such and soe many places, and with such rights, Jurisdictions, liberties and priviledges unto the said ports, belonging as to him or them, shall

seeme most expedient, and that all and singular the shipps, boates and other vessells, which shall come for merchandize and trade, unto the said province, or out of the same shall depart, shall be laden or unladen onely att such ports as shall be erected and constituted by the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, any use, custome or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding: PROVIDED, that the said William Penn and his heires, and the Lieutenants and Governors for the time being, shall admitt and receive in and about all such ports, havens, Creeks and Keyes, all officers and their Deputies, who shall from time to time be appointed for that purpose, by the ffarmers or Comissioners of our customes, for the time being.

[*Section XIII.*]

AND WEE DOE further appoint and ordaine, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, WEE DOE grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, that he the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, may from time to time forever, have and enjoy the customes and subsidies in the ports, harbours and other Creeks, and places aforesaid, within the province aforesaid, payable or due for merchandizes and wares, there to be laded and unladed, the said customes and subsidies to be reasonably assessed, upon any occasion by themselves, and the people there as aforesaid, to be assembled to whom WEE give power, by these presents for us, our heires and successors, upon just cause, and in a due proportion, to assesse and impose the same, saveing unto us, our heires and successors, such impositions and customes as by act of parliament are and shall be appointed.

[*Section XIV.*]

AND it is our further will and pleasure, that the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall from time to time constitute and appoint an attorney or agent, to reside in or neare our Citty of London, who shall make knowne the place where he shall dwell or may be found, unto the Clerks of Our privy Counsell, for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appeare in any of our Courts att Westminster, to answer for any misdemeanors that shall be comitted, or by any wilfull default, or neglect permitted by the said William Penn, his heires or assignes, against our Lawes of Trade or Navigation, and after it shall be ascertained in any of our said Courts, what damages WEE or our heires or successors shall have sustained, by such default or neglect, the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall pay the same within one yeare after such taxation and demand thereof, from such attorney, or in case there shall be noe such attorney, by the space of one yeare, or such attorney shall not make payment of such damages, within the space of one yeare, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties within the said time, as by the acts of parliament

in England, are or shall be provided, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; Then it shall be lawfule for us, our Heires and successors, to seize and Resume the government of the said province or Countrey, and the same to retaine untill payment shall be made thereof. But notwithstanding any such seizure or resumption of the Government, nothing concerning the propriety or ownership of any Lands, Tenements or other hereditaments, or goods, or chattels of any of the adventurers, Planters or owners, other than the respective offenders there, shall be any way affected or molested thereby.

[*Section XV.*]

PROVIDED alwayes, and our will and pleasure is that neither the said William Penn, nor his heires, nor any other the inhabitants of the said province, shall at any time hereafter have or maintain any correspondence with any other king, prince or State, or with any of theire subjects, who shall then be in warr against us, our heires or successors; Nor shall the said William Penn, or his heires, or any other the inhabitants of the said province, make warre or doe any act of hostilities against any other king, prince or state, or any of their subjects, who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heires or successors.

[*Section XVI.*]

AND because in soe remote a Countrey, and scituate neare many Barbarous Nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and Robbers, may probably be feared. Therefore, WEE have given and for us, our heires and successors, Doe give power by these presents unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, by themselves or their Captaines or other, their officers to levy, muster and traine all sorts of men, of what condition, or wheresoever borne, in the said province of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and to make warr and pursue the enemies and Robbers aforesaid, as well by Sea as by Land, yea, even without the Limits of the said province, and by God's assistance, to vanquish and take them, and being taken, to put them to death by the law of Warr, or to save them att theire pleasure, and to doe all and every other act and thing, which to the charge and office of a Captaine generall of an Army, belongeth or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and ffreely as any Captaine Generall of an Army, hath ever had the same.

[*Section XVII.*]

AND FURTHERMORE, of our especiall grace and of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, WEE have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, Doe give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, full and absolute power, licence and authoritie, That he the said William Penn, his

heires and Assignes, from time to time hereafter forever, att his or theire will and pleasure, may assigne, alien, grant, demise or infeoffe of the premises, soe many, and such partes and parcells to him or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall think ffitt. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD to them, the said person and persons willing to take or purchase, theire heires and assignes, in ffee simple or ffeetaile, or for the terms of life, or lives, or yeares, to be held of the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, as of the said Seigniory of Windsor, by such service, customes and rents, as shall seeme ffitt to the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, and not immediately of us, our heires and successors.

[*Section XVIII.*]

AND to the same person or persons, and to all and every of them, WEE DOE give and grant by these presents, for us, our heires and successsors, Licence, authoritie and power, that such person or persons may take the premisses or any parcell thereof, of the aforesaid William Penn, his heires or assignes, and the same hold to themselves, their heires and assignes, in what estate of inheritance soever, in ffee simple, or in ffeetaile or otherwise, as to him the said William Penn, his heires and assignes, shall seem expedient. The Statutes made in the parliament of Edward, sonne of king Henry, late king of England, our predecessor, comonly called the Statute Quia Emptores terrarum, lately published in our kingdome of England, in any wise notwithstanding.

[*Section XIX.*]

AND by these presents, WEE give and grant licence unto the said William Penn, and his heires, likewise to all and every such person and persons to whom the said William Penn, or his heires, shall at any time hereafter, grant any estate of inheritance as aforesaid, to erect any parcells of Land within the province aforesaid, into mannors, by and with the licence to be first had and obteyned for that purpose, under the hand and seale of the said William Penn, or his heires, and in every of the said mannors, to have and to hold a Court Baron, with all things whatsoever, which to a Court Baron do belong; and to have and to hold view of ffrankpledge, for the conservation of the peace, and the better government of those partes by themselves or their Stewarts, or by the Lords for the time being of other mannors to be deputed when they shall be erected, and in the same, to use all things belonging to view of ffrankpledge; and WEE doe further grant licence and authoritie that every such person and persons, who shall erect any such mannor or mannors as aforesaid, shall or may grant all or any parte of his said lands to any person or persons, in ffee simple or any other estate of inheritance, to be held of the said mannors respectively, soe as noe further tenures shall be created, but that upon

all further and other alienations thereafter, to be made the said lands so aliened, shall be held of the same Lord and his heires, of whom the alien did then before hold, and by the like, rents and services, which were before due and accustomed.

[*Section XX.*]

AND further, our pleasure is and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, WEE doe Covenant and grant to and with the said William Penn, and his heires and assignes, that WEE, our heires and successors, shall att no time hereafter sett or make, or cause to be sett, any imposition, custome or other taxation, rate or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province, for their lands, tenements, goods or chattels, within the said province, or to be laden or unladen within the ports or harbours of the said province, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chiefe Governor and Assembly, or by act of parliament in England.

[*Section XXI.*]

AND our pleasure is, and for us our heires and successors, WEE charge and comand, that this our Declaration, shall from henceforward be received, and allowed from time to time in all our Courts, and before all the Judges of us, our heires and successors, for a sufficicient and lawful discharge, payment and acquittance, comanding all and singular the officers and ministers of us, our heires and successors, and enjoyneing them upon paine of our high displeasure, that they doe not presume att any time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they doe in any sort withstand the same, but that they bee att all times aiding and assisting as is fitting unto the said William Penn, and his heires, and to the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, ffactors and assignes, in the full use and fruition of the benefitt of this our Charter.

[*Section XXII.*]

AND our further pleasure is, AND WEE doe hereby, for us, our heires and successors, charge and require that if any of the inhabitants of the said province, to the number of Twenty, shall att any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by and writeing or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London, that any preacher or preachers to be approved of by the said Biship, may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such preacher or preachers, shall and may be and reside within the said province, without any Deniall or molestation whatsoever.

[*Section XXIII.*]

AND if perchance it should happen hereafter, any doubts or questions should arise concerning the true sence & meaning of any word, clause or sentence, conteyned in this our present Charter, WEE WILL ordaine and command, that att all times and in all things such interpretation be made thereof, and allowed in any of our Courts whatsoever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favourable unto the said William Penn, his heires and assignes: PROVIDED alwayes, that no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heires and successors, may suffer any prejudice or diminution, although expres mention be not made in these presents, of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or of any parte thereof, or of other guifts and grants made by us, our progenitors or predecessors, unto the said William Penn, or any Statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint heretofore, had made, published, ordained or provided, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding. In Witness whereof WEE have caused these our letters to be made patents, Witness our selfe at Westminster, the fourth day of March, in the three and thirtieth yeare of our Reigne.

PIGOTT.[5]

By Writt of privy Seale.

JOHN SHALER, chvr.

SUCCESS

William Penn announced his success in a letter to Robert Turner in Ireland. He alluded to his difficulties in obtaining the grant, and explained that the name was given in honor of his father, not of himself.

5th of 1st Mo. 1681.

Dear Friend,

My true love in the Lord salutes thee, and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of *Pennsilvania,* a name the king would give it in honour of my father. I chose *New Wales,* being as this, a pretty hilly country, but *Penn* being Welsh for a head, as *Penmanmoire*

[5] *Charter of King Charles II of England . . .*, 1-10; *Pennsylvania Archives,* Eighth Series I, xxvii-xl; Proud, I, 171-187. The last two have the paragraphing and sections used here.

in . . . Wales, and *Penrith* in Cumberland, and *Penn* in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this *Pennsilvania,* which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed when the secretary—a Welshman—refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania,* and they added *Penn* to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretarys to vary the name, for I feared least it should be lookt on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayst communicate my graunt to friends, and expect shortly my proposals: 'Tis a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficultys, will, I believe bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it will be well laid at first: no more now, but dear love in the truth.

Thy true friend,

W. Penn.[6]

His intentions to plan wisely and carefully for the government of his province are amplified in a letter of April 12, 1681, to Irish Friends. This accompanied a copy of the prospectus of the colony which he had published to attract settlers. In the private message he could say more than he dared publish.

Westminster, 12th of 2d mo. 1681.

Dear R. Turner, Ant. Sharp, and R. Roberts,

My love salutes you in the abideing truth of our God, that is precious in all lands; the Lord God of righteousness keep us in it, and then shall we be the dayly wittnesses of the comforts and refreshments that come from it, to his praise, that is the fountain of all good. Having published a paper with relation to my province in America, (at least what I thought it adviseable to publish,) I here inclose one that you may know and inform others of it. I have been thirteen years the servant of truth and Friends, and for my testimony sake lost much, not only the greatness and preferments of this world, but £16,000 of my estate, that had I not been what I am I had long agoe obtained; but I murmur not; the Lord is good to me, and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repaire it; For many are drawn forth to be

[6] *Memoirs, HSP,* I, 201-202.

concerned with me and perhaps this way of satisfaction has more of the hand of God in it than a downright payment; this I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in governments, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doeing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country; but to publish those things now, and here as matters stand, would not be wise, and I was advised to reserve that till I came there. Your ancient love to me, makes me believe you will have a brotherly eye to my honest concern; and what truth makes you free to do you will, and more I expect not: 'tis a clear, unintangled, and I may say, honourable bottom, no more; but let Friends know it as you are free. With my dear love in that which no waters can quench, nor time make wax old, nor distance wear out.

Your friend and brother,

W. PENN

The inclosed was first read to Traders, Planters, and Shipmasters, that know those parts, and finally to the most eminent of Friends hereaway, and so comes forth. I have forborne paint and allurement, and writt truth.

W. P.

There are several inhabitants on the place already able to yield accommodation to such as at first go; and care is taken already for to look out a convenient tract of land for a first settlement.[7]

The new Governor began at once to set the wheels of government in motion. He made his cousin William Markham deputy governor, and sent him to Pennsylvania to take possession. To the scattered settlers already in the colony, Swedes, Dutch and English, he sent a letter of greeting and assurance, which may be regarded as his inaugural message.

[7] *Memoirs, HSP,* 202-204.

My Friends,

I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. I have to let you know that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled with your change and the king's choice, for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great; you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person; God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and in five months resolve, if it pleases God, to see you. In the mean time, pray, submit to the commands of my Deputy, so far as they are consistent with law, and pay him those dues that formerly you paid to the order of the Governor of New York, for my use and benefit. And so I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

I am,

Your true friend,

WM. PENN.

London, 8th of the month
called April, 1681.[8]

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

Despite his hope to reach Pennsylvania within five months, more than a year was to elapse before William Penn could leave England. He had much to do. Carrying on what today would be called an advertising campaign to attract settlers, he published *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,* the prospectus already mentioned, and supplemented this by numerous letters. In July, 1681, he made a preliminary agreement with the first purchasers, twenty articles called *Certain Conditions and Concessions.* In this he provided

[8] Letter to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part II, 205-206. "The letter is sealed with three seals, bearing the arms of the Penn family, impressed on red wax. The direction which, as well as the letter, is in the handwriting of William Penn, reads thus: 'For the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; To be read by my Deputy'."

for the laying out of a large town (the future Philadelphia), the surveying of roads and highways, conditions for the sale of land, and—above all—regulations for the protection of the Indian natives.

That his efforts to attract settlers met with considerable success is apparent from a passage in his letter to James Harrison, August 25, 1681. This contains the classic expression of his purposes in Pennsylvania, and explains one reason for delaying his journey:

> As to my voyage, it is not like to be so quick as I hoped; for the people upon whose going, both my resolutions and service in going depended, though they buy, and mostly send servants to clear and sow a piece of land against they come, not one of them can now get rid of their concerns here until spring. When they go, I go. My going with servants, will not settle government, the great end of my going; besides, many flock in to be concerned with me. I am like to have many from France, some from Holland, and, I hear some Scotch will go. For my country, I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn inward to look to him and to owe it to his hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire that I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment.[9]

Early in the autumn, he sent commissioners to Pennsylvania to arrange for the proper care of newcomers to the province, to choose a site for and lay out "a great Towne," and to establish friendly relations with the Indians. Some salient passages of his instructions to the Commissioners are:

> . . . Take an especiall Care of the people that shall embarque with you, that they may be accommodated with conveniences as to Food, Lodging and safe places for their goods. . .
>
> * * *
>
> . . . Let the Rivers and Creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware River, . . . in order to settle a great Towne, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy.

[9] Janney, 165-166.

> Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear that any body inveigles the Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those that will inform you, but to soften them to mee and the people, lett them know that you are come to sit down Lovingly among them. . . . Be Grave they love not to be smiled on.
>
> * * *
>
> Let every House be placed, if the Person pleases in the middle of its platt as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side, for Gardens or Orchards or fields, that it may be a greene Country Towne, which will never be burnt, and alwayes be wholesome.
>
> * * *
>
> Be sure to keep the Conditions hereunto affixed, And see that no Vice or evil Conversation goe uncomplained or Punished in any, that God be not provoked to wrath against the Country.[10]

FRAMING THE GOVERNMENT

For more than a year after receiving the Charter, William Penn gave much time and attention to the formulation and drafting of a constitution or Frame of Government for Pennsylvania. This was not an easy task. As holder of what was essentially a feudal seigniory or lordship, he was personally responsible to the King for the proper protection and government of the colony. At the same time, his Quaker philosophy of life required that he "put the power in the people," as he had helped to do in West New Jersey. To reconcile these opposites seemed virtually impossible. Consulting with fellow-Quakers, and with such leaders of progressive thought as Algernon Sidney, he finally worked out the First Frame of Government, which was formally adopted in England on April 25, 1682, by the Proprietor and some of the first purchasers.

The republican Sidney seems to have been critical of the extensive powers retained by the Proprietor. The grieved letter which Penn wrote in reply shows how seriously he undertook the task of drafting this constitution.

> There are many things make a man's life uneasie in the world, which are great abates to the pleasure of liveing; but scarcely one equall to that of the unkindness or injustice of friends.

[10] *Memoirs, HSP,* II, Part I, 215-220.

I have been ask't by severall, since I came last to town, if Colonel Sidney and I were fallen out, and when I deny'd it, and laught at it; they tould me I was mistaken, and to convince me, stated that he had used me very ill to severall persons, if not companys; saying, I had a good country, but the basest laws in the world, not to be endured or lived under, and that the Turk was not more absolute than I. This made me remember the discourse we had together at my house, about my drawing constitutions not as proposals but as if fixt to the hand. And that as my act, to which the rest were to comply if they would be concerned with me. But withall, I could not but call to mind that the objections were presently complyed with, both by my verbal denyall of all such constructions as the words might bear as if they were imposed and not yet free for debate. And, also, that I took my pen, and immediately altered the termes, so as they corresponded, (and truly, I thought more properly), with thy objection and sense. Upon this thou didst draw a draught as to the frame of government, gave it me to read, and we discourst it with a considerable argument; it was afterwards called for back by thee to finish and polish, and I suspended proceeding in the business of the government ever since, (that being to be done after other matters), instead of any further conference about it.

I meet with this sort of langauge in the mouths of severall, I shall not yet believe it; 'twere not well in me to an enemy, less so to a friend; but if it be true, I shall be sorry we ever were so well acquainted, or that I have given so much occasion to them that hate us, to laugh at me for more true friendship and steady kindness than I have been guilty of, to any man I know liveing. It becomes not my pretences to the things of another life to be much in paine about the uncertaintys of this; but be it as it will, I am yet worth a line; and I would pray one of the truth of the fact, for the injury it hath done me already is nothing to the trouble it will give me if I have deserved it, and if I have not, of loseing a friend upon a mistake; not that I meanly creep for a friendship that is deny'd me; I am unfitt for it then. I can be but where I was before, not less in myself nor my own peace, which a steady virtue will make a sufficient comfort and sanctuary

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN[11]

[11] Letter to Algernon Sidney, October 13, 1681, *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part I, 285-286; Janney, 182-183.

This Frame of Government, together with the Laws agreed upon in England, was published with a preface which is, perhaps, Penn's best expression of his ideas of government.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST FRAME OF GOVERNMENT

When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it; and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness, and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that before had no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live comformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction, of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

This the apostle teaches us in divers of his epistles. The law (says he) was added because of transgression: In another place, knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and prophane, for murderers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, and for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, &c. But this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to Evil: wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.—He is the minister of God to thee for good.—Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath but for conscience sake.

This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends; first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world, as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end. For if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is as such (tho' a lower yet) an emanation of the same Divine Power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operations: but that is only to evil-doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society. They

weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs more soft and daily necessary, make up much the greatest part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fell, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from Heaven. Thus much of government in general, as to its rise and end.

For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little; and comparatively I will say nothing. My reasons are: first, that the age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true, they seem to agree in the end, to wit, happiness, but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergences have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government, that shall serve all places alike.

Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three; any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion.

But lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Govèrnments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for men that execute them: but let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. 'Tis true, good laws have some awe upon

ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them, and the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

But next to the power of necessity (which is a solicitor that will take no denial) this induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the FRAME and LAWS of this government, to the great end of all government, viz: to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration: for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure. Which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN[12]

The chief features of his constitution and laws were conveniently summarized by Robert Proud.

> The frame itself consisted of twenty-four articles; and the laws were forty. By the former government was placed in the Governor and Freemen of the province, in the form of a provincial council, and General Assembly. By them conjunctively all laws were to be made, all officers appointed, and all public affairs transacted. Seventy-two was the number of the Council, to be chosen by the freemen; and though the Governor, or his deputy, was to be perpetual President, he had but a treble vote. One-third part of them was, at first, to be chosen for three years, one-third for two years, and one-third for one year; in such manner, that there might be an annual succes-

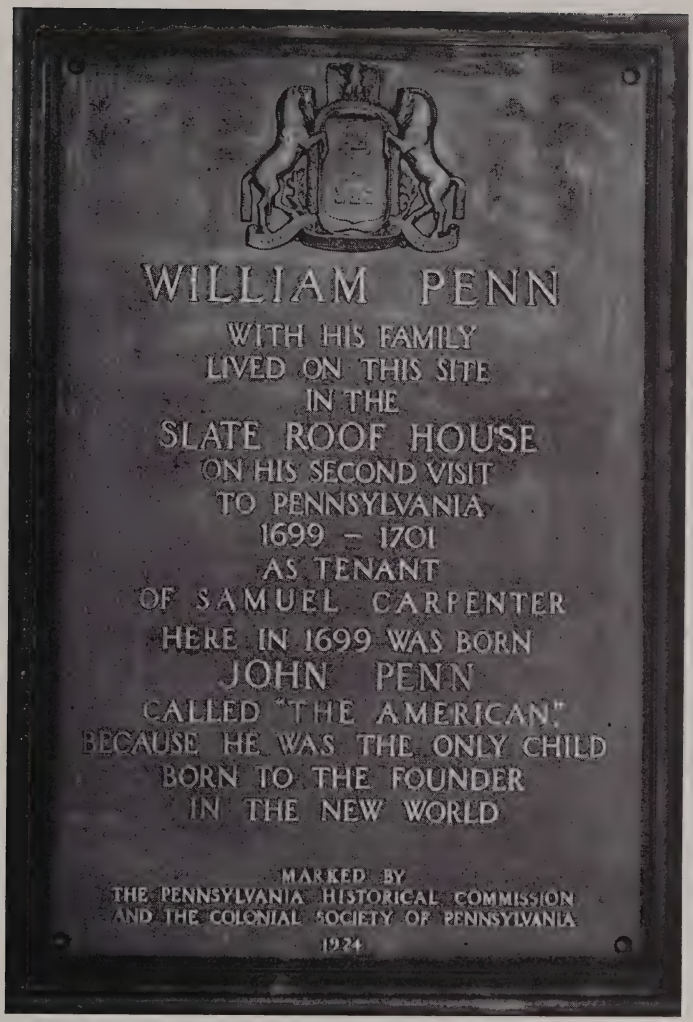
[12] *Charter to William Penn . . .* etc. (1879), 90-93.

William Penn at the Age of Fifty-two

Reported to be painted from life by Francis Place in 1696. The original is in Durham, England; a copy is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

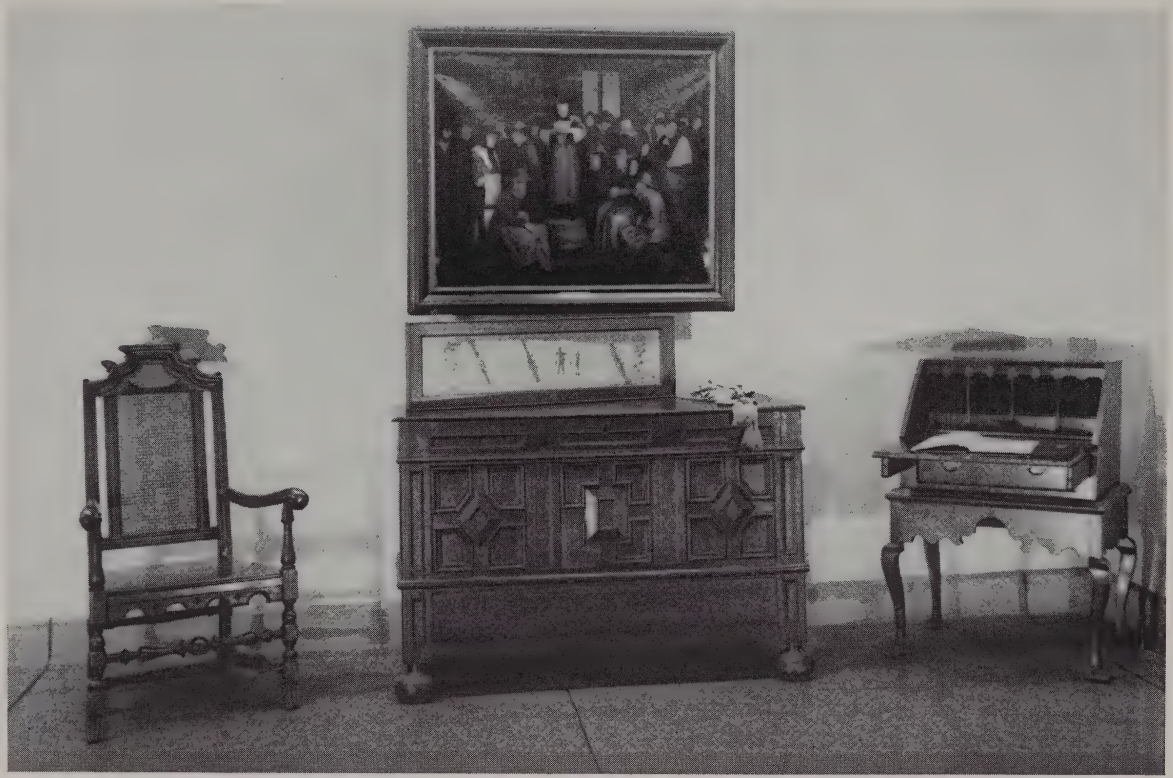
The Slate Roof House, Philadelphia

Occupied by William Penn as a residence 1699-1701, from a drawing based on the engraving in Watson's *Annals*, made by Edward P. Buyck for *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* by Arthur Pound.



Marker at the Site of the Slate Roof House, Philadelphia

Group Assembled at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
William Penn's shaving dish, razor, drinking-cup and ewer.



Group Assembled at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
William Penn's chair, chest and writing-desk, with the wampum belt and his silk scarf.

The leopard with the harmless kid laid down
And not one savage beast was seen to frown
The wolf did with the lambkin dwell in peace
His grim carnivorous nature then did cease
The lion with the fatling co did move
A little child was leading them in love
When the great PENN his famous treaty made
With indian chiefs beneath the elm tree's shade.

The Prophecy of Isaiah, XI : 6, II : 2-4

From a painting by Edward Hicks, a self-taught Quaker artist, in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

William Penn's Writing Desk
At the Ridgway Branch of the Free Library Company of Philadelphia.

The So-called Penn or Letitia Cottage

From a photograph of the original, removed and now standing in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

sion of twenty-four new members, each to continue three years, and no longer.—The general Assembly was, the first year, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never to exceed five hundred. And this charter, or form of government, was not to be altered, changed, or diminished, in any part, or clause of it, without the consent of the Governor, his heirs, or assigns, and six parts of seven of the freemen, in Provincial Council and Assembly. And to the same power only was the alteration of the laws made subject: these laws were of the nature of an original compact between the proprietary and the freemen; and, as such, were reciprocally received and executed: one of them was,

"That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged, in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no way, be molested, or prejudiced, for their religious perswasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever." [13]

MEETING PROBLEMS

As William Penn made plans for the future of his province, he became concerned with the problem of assuring it access to the sea. If ships coming up the Delaware River had to pay customs to another colony, the commercial development of Pennsylvania would be much retarded. By right of conquest from the Dutch, the Duke of York then exercised control over the territory on the west shore of the Delaware River which is now the State of Delaware. William Penn again drew upon the Duke's good will, persuading him to cede the so-called Lower Counties, by deeds dated August 24, 1682. In return, Penn was to pay a yearly rent of five shillings and one rose, and half of all the rents and profits from the territory. Three days before, the Duke had given Penn a clear title to Pennsylvania, by another deed conveying his claim there.

Finally, after this long period of preparation, Penn embarked at Deale for America, writing affectionate letters of farewell to his wife and children. The London Gazette for 1682 noted his departure, by the following items:

[13] Proud, I, 199-200.

Deale. Aug. 30. There are now about 30 Sail of Merchant ships in the Downs, outward bound, two or three whereof are bound for *Pensilvania.*

Deale. Sept. 2. Two days since sailed out of the *Downs,* three ships bound for *Pensilvania,* on board of which was Mr. *Pen,* with a great many Quakers, who go to settle there.[14]

The voyage of William Penn in the *Welcome* was described by a fellow-passenger, Richard Townsend.

> . . . The Proprietor, William Penn, being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem, among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the settlement of this place.
>
> To that end, in the year 1682 several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child; and about the latter end of Sixth-month, having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went, on board the ship *Welcome,* Robert Greenaway, commander, in company with my worthy friend, William Penn; whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many, who were sick of the Small-pox, then on board; out of which company about thirty died.—After a prosperous passage of about two months, having had, in that time, many good meetings, on board, we arrived here.
>
> At our arrival, we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us, by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers others parts, that were inhabited before.
>
> Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings, in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near Delaware; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other, in building little houses, for our shelter.[15]

[14] *Fifth Report of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission,* 17.
[15] Proud, I, 228-229.

The *Welcome* entered Delaware Bay on October 24, and William Penn first set foot on American soil on October 27, at New Castle, Delaware. He formally took possession the next day, in a ceremony in which "turf, and twig, and water, and soyle of the river Delaware" were handed to him. On the 29th, he landed on Pennsylvania soil at Upland, which he renamed Chester. He began immediately to apply his Frame of Government, calling the Assembly to meet at Chester on December 4. Robert Proud describes this first session of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania:

> This Assembly chose Nicholas Moore, who was president of the Free society of traders, for their chair-man, or speaker; and received . . . ample satisfaction from the Proprietary . . . for which they returned him their grateful acknowledgments. The Swedes for themselves, deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him, "That they would love, serve and obey him with all they had," declaring, "that it was the best day they ever saw."
>
> At this Assembly an act of union was passed, annexing the three lower counties to the province, in legislation, on the 7th. day of December, 1682; likewise an act of settlement, in reference to the frame of government which, with some alterations, was thereby declared to be accepted and confirmed.
>
> The Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners were then naturalized; all the laws, agreed on in England, with some small alterations, were passed in form.[16]

At this time, the Great Law was also enacted. This first code of laws of Pennsylvania is especially notable for its preamble and first chapter, which signify the acceptance by the people of Pennsylvania of William Penn's views on government and religious freedom.

PREAMBLE AND CHAPTER I OF THE GREAT LAW

Whereas, the glory of Almighty God and the good of Mankind, is the reason & end of government, and therefore, government in itself is a venerable Ordinance of God. And forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the Proprietary and Governor and the freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and Civil Liberty, in opposition to all Unchristian, Licentious, and unjust practices, (Whereby God may have his due, Caesar his

[16] *Ibid.*, I, 206.

due, and the people their due), from tyranny and oppression on the one side, and insolence, and Licentiousness on the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be layd for the present and future happiness of both the Governor and people, of the Province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity.

Be it therefore Enacted by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor, by, and with the Advice and Consent of the Deputies of the freemen of this Province and Counties aforesaid, in Assembly met, and by the Authority of the same, That these following Chapters and Paragraphs shall be the Laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof.

Chap. I. Almighty God, being Only Lord of Conscience father of Lights and Spirits, and the author as well as object of all Divine knowledge, faith, and Worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understandings of people. In due reverence to his Sovereignty over the Souls of Mankind. . . .

Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no person, now, or at any time hereafter, Living in this Province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, And who professes, him, or herself Obliged in Conscience to Live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his, or her Conscientious persuasion or practice. Nor shall hee or shee at any time be compelled to frequent or Maintain anie religious worship, place or Ministry whatever, Contrary to his, or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his, or her Christian Liberty in that respect, without any Interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride any other, for his, or her different persuasion and practice in matters of religion, such person shall be lookt upon as a Disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly.

But to the end That Looseness, irreligion, and Atheism may not Creep in under pretense of Conscience in this Province, *Be It further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,* That, according to the example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the Creation, Every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, People shall abstain from their usual and common toil and labour, That whether Master, Parents, Children, or Servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home, or frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad, as may best sute their respective persuasions.[17]

In March, 1683, William Penn met his second Assembly, in the new town of Philadelphia. A number of objections were made to the First Frame, and the Governor accordingly asked the Assembly and Council "Whether they chose to have the old charter, or a new one."[18] They replied unanimously that they wished a new one which would cover

[17] *Charter to William Penn, . . .* etc. (1879), 107-108.
[18] Proud, I, 239.

the debatable points in the first. The Second Frame of Government was then issued by the Proprietor, and agreed to by the legislature on April 2, 1683. Under this Frame, Delaware was fully incorporated into Pennsylvania, the number of members in Assembly and Council was diminished, and the Governor's action in many matters was made subject to the advice and consent of the Council. Robert Proud rightly observes that there were still faults to be corrected:

> . . . Though in some parts, it was formed upon a generous plan; yet all the laws were thereby still to be prepared and proposed by the Governor and Council; and the number of the Assemblymen were to be increased at their pleasure. This charter . . . seemed to be only preparatory to the last Charter of Privileges, granted in 1701.[19]

DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA

Governor Penn led a busy and active life. He made social and business visits to neighboring colonies, on which occasions he attended many meetings of Friends. He saw to the proper establishment of his capital city of Philadelphia, and started the construction of his country home at Pennsbury. With all this, added to the daily routine of government administration, he found time to write numerous letters continuing his campaign to advertise his province. He wrote to King Charles, sending him "a poor Present of Country produce."[20] From the many long letters describing and extolling Pennsylvania's climate, products, soil and natural advantages, only a few passages can be selected.

> The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and articial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as, sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and, in some places, a fast fat earth, like our best vales, in England; especially by inland brooks and rivers: God, in his wisdom, having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer, than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil; and that is a black hazel-mould, upon a stony, or rocky, bottom.

[19] *Ibid.,* I, 240.
[20] *Memoirs, HSP,* II, Part I, 242.

The air is sweet and clear, the Heavens serene, like the south part of France, rarely overcast; and, as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as, red, white and black; Spanish, chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which there is plenty, for the use of man.

The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumkins, water-melons, mush-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England, usually bring forth.

Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers; which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land: The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, New-Castle, Kent and Sussex; containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks; and, at least, seventy laws were passed without one dissent, in any material thing. But of this, more hereafter, being yet raw and new, in our gear. However I cannot forget their singular respect to me, in this infancy of things; who, by their own private expenses, so early considered mine, for the public, as to present me with an impost, upon certain goods imported and exported. Which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province, and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c. which courts are held every two months. But, to prevent law suits, there are three peace makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man. And spring and fall there is an orphans' court, in each county to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

Philadelphia, the expectation of those, that are concerned in this province, is, at last, laid out, to the great content of those here, that are many ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Sculkil; whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile; and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Sculkil, being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north east, towards the fountain of Susquahanna (that tends to the heart of

the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent; in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that, of all the many places, I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced, within less than a year, to about four score houses and cottages, such as they are; where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations, as fast as they can. . . .

I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the Country and entertainment I got in it: For I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God, in his providence, hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be, at present, free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work. But the method, things are putting in, will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom, as well as the duty, of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and chearfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.[21]

FURTHER DETAILS

Of special interest in this connection is his letter to the Earl of Sunderland, direct ancestor of Prime Minister Winston Churchill.[22] Penn congratulated the Earl on his return to power, and felt sure of his friendly and sympathetic support.

Philadelphia

28*th* 3*mo July* 1683.

My Noble Friend

It is an unhappiness incident to great men, to be troubl'd with the respects of the small folks their kindness obleidges—however, I had

[21] Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, quoted in Proud, I, 246-264.

[22] The son of Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, married Ann Churchill, daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, from which union Winston Spencer Churchill is descended.

rather need an excuse then be wanting of gratitude to my noble Benefactors, of which the Lord Sunderland was one of the first, in the business of my American Country; & tho I have nothing to returne, but humble thanks & good wishes for all his generous favours, yet they have engaged me in a most firm resolution to embrace all occasions by which I may express my sense of them & gratitude to him. And being thus obleidg'd to interest myselfe in his success and prosperity, I must take leave to Congratulate the happy restoration of the King's grace & favour, in which without flattery I take the freedom to say I think he has done right to the Lord Sunderlands abilitys & his own business; for ever since he yeilded me the advantage of his acquaintance in France (a Time of twenty years Standing, or running rather) I have said, many times, to many people, I remember not to have mett a young Nobleman, promessing a sharper & clearer Judgement & of closer & better sense, and pardon me if I wish that this occasion may give thee time to prove it yet more abundantly to the world.

I was a little elevated with the hopes of a free discours & censure upon my American enterprize, when it pleas'd thee to give me to believe I might meet thee some evening at Col: Henry Sidneys; but some greater Affaire diverting rob'd me of the advantage I had reason to promess my selfe from so correct a Conversation. But tho I mist that expression of thy favour, lett me not want the effects of it: I am now in a station, where my own weakness or my Neighbours envy may happen to hurt my honest interest, & good work I have in my ege: please to take me & my poor feeble Concerns into thy Protection, & give us thy smiles & Countenance, and I will venture to say; that by the help of God & such noble Freinds I will show a province in 7 years equall to her Neighbours of 40 years planting.

I have lay'd out the Province into Countys, Six are begun to be seated, they lye on the Great River, & are planted about 6 miles back. the Town platt is a mile long & two deep—has a Navigable River on each side, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwych, from 3 to 8 fathom water. there is built about 80 houses, & I have settled at least three hundred farmes Contiguous to it. We have had with passengers 23 Ships, & tradeing 40 great & small since the last Summer. not amiss for one year. the Country is in Soyle good, aire sereen (as in Languedock) & sweet from the Cedar, Pine & Sarsefrax, with a wild mertile that all send forth a most fragrant smell, which every brees carrys with it to the Inhabitants where it goes. Cyprus, chesnutt, Cedar, Black Walnutt, & poppler (the largest in the world) Oake of six sorts, white, Red, black, Spanish Chesnutt and Swampe, are the timber of thes parts, ash there is also, but not so frequently here is a hickery nut tree, mighty large, and more tough than our ash, the finest white & flameing fire I have ever seen.

I have had better venison, bigger, more tender, & as fatt as in England. Turkys of the wood, I had of 40 & 50 pound weight. Fish

in abundance, especially of Shad and Rock, which are here an excellent Fish. perch & trout, but no Salmon hereaways yet as I hear of, but oysters, that are monstrous for bigness, tho there be a lesser sort, here are of Fruits, divers wild, the Peach, Grape, & plum, & that of divers sorts. We have also in the woods, flowers, that for Colour, largeness & beuty excell, I intend a Collection of the most valluable of what this place affords for Arstrope the next Season. For the people; they are Savage to us, in their Persons, & furniture; all that is rude; but they have great shape, strength, agility; & in Councel (for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves) observe property & Government) grave, speak seldom, inter spaces of silence, short, elegant, fervent, the old sitt in a halfmoon upon the Ground, the middle aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them, & the young fry in the same manner behind them. None speak but the aged, they having Consulted the rest before; thus in selling me their land they order'd themselves; I must say, that their obscurity consider'd, wanting tradition, example & instruction, they are an extreordinary people, had not the Dutch Sweeds and English learn'd them drunkenness (in which condition, they kill or burn one another) they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, that for 6 penny worth of Rum, one may buy that fur from them, that five shillings, in any other Commodity shall not purchase. Yet many of the old men, & some of the young people will not touch with such spirits; & Because in those fitts they mischeif both themselves & our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any.

Pardon my Noble Freind this length (longer too in my scrawling hand then in it selfe) I thought it my duty to give an account of the Place to one whos favour had helpt to make it myn, & who was pleas'd more then once to discourse the settlement of it.

I have only to recommend the Bearer my Kinsman, Capt Markham, & to pray access in my affaires, yet not fully fixt, by the unkindness of my Neighbour, the Lord Baltimore, & that it would please thee to accept a poor present, of our growth, remembring, that the Ancients vallued offerings by the heart that made them; & finally to give me leave to ware the character of

My Noble Freind

Thy very sensible and faithfull

Frd. & Servt. to my powr.

Wm. Penn

May I present my humble duty to the King?[23]

[23] *Memoirs, HSP*, II, Part I, 243-247.

BOUNDARY DIFFICULTIES

A dispute with Lord Baltimore over the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary made it necessary for William Penn to return to England in August, 1684, to bring his influence to bear at court. His affectionate letter of farewell to Friends in the province contained his famous "prayer for Philadelphia":

> And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!
>
> O that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee: that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end! My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects my heart and mine eye.—The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace.[24]

The boundary question offered no great difficulties, though it was not finally settled until long after Penn's death. That alone would not have kept William Penn from returning to his province. In February, 1685, King Charles II died, and was succeeded by James II, who as Duke of York had shown much friendship and good will toward Penn and his ideas of religious freedom. In that changed situation, the Governor of Pennsylvania believed that he could do more to further the interests of his people, and the cause of toleration, by remaining in England. He became one of James' intimate advisers, the "only good man" among them, it has been said.[25]

After King James was driven from the throne by the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, William Penn was suspected of disloyalty to the new rulers, William and Mary. His distressing situation was aggravated by political troubles in Pennsylvania, which was far from yielding the income he had expected, and where his deputy governors had continual difficulties with the Assembly. King William, however, was a man of common sense, and knew William Penn well enough

[24] Janney, 249.
[25] Trevelyan, G. M., *England Under the Stuarts*, 436.

not to believe the tales that he was joining in plots to restore the exiled James. It was not long before Penn was cleared of these charges, but he had, of course, lost the easy access to royalty which he had once enjoyed.

His removal from the governorship of Pennsylvania, in October, 1692, is not to be interpreted as punishment for his relations with James, but as a military measure. In order to provide for the proper defense of the American colonies in the war with France, the King united New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland under Governor Fletcher of New York. Penn's property rights were unaffected. The reason given for the action really did Penn credit, for it stressed the political troubles in the province as caused by his long absence. In August, 1694, the governorship was restored to him, as he announced in a letter of November 24, to Friends in Pennsylvania.

TROUBLES OF A PROPRIETOR

Dear Friends and Brethren,

My antient love without reserve salutes and embraces you in the sense of that which has been the root of our fellowship, and of all Gods people, since the world began, in which the Lord preserve us to the end.

By this, you will understand that by the good Providence of God, I am restored to my former administration of government which, I hope, will be some relief and comfort to you that have been exercised by the late interruption upon us. That things are not just now put into that posture as you may reasonably desire, you must not take amiss, for neither will the straitness of time, nor the circumstances we are under to the lords of the plantation, permit another method at this time. And as soon as I can make my way to that which is as much my inclination as yours, (and which, I hope to do in a short time), depend upon it, I shall do my utmost to make you entirely easy. Accept this part of the goodness of God and wait for the rest.

We must creep where we cannot go, and it is as necessary for us in the things of this life to be wise, as to be innocent. A word to the wise is enough. My return will, I hope, put an end to all our civil griefs, which, at least, I long for, not for any word by advantage, but to discharge a conscience to God and to you, and, I hope, that shall singly be the mark and rule of the remainder of my life, both in this and all other things that may attend it.

You know, I believe, as well as I, what has been a main obstacle, and is still, of which S. J.[26] can be more particular to whom I have opened myself, that he may do so to you, and whose integrity, I think, ought with reason to be unquestionable to us both.

I cannot tell you here through what difficulties we are come where we are, and I hope you will be sensible of it, and from thence satisfied if not pleased. As to the present condition of the province pray be careful that the charter be strictly observed, and all vice and impiety diligently suppressed. I have named two assistants, that, I hope, will please you, to whom I shall write, by this opportunity, to consult you in all the advice and consent they shall give from time to time, as my cousin Markham in the administration of government.

I had written largely to you by George Heathcott's briganteen, but she was, unhappily, taken by the French, and my letters with the Queen's letter, with the broad seal of revocation of Colonel Fletcher's commission were carried into France.

I just now received letters from London, that informed me that the fleet will not sail until the time called Christmas—so that, I hope, to enlarge hereafter either in this or another letter.[27]

THE FOUNDER'S SECOND VISIT

On September 9, 1699, William Penn set out for Pennsylvania, accompanied by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill Penn, and by his daughter Letitia. James Logan, who was to become the Proprietor's trusted agent and adviser in the province, and an important figure in Pennsylvania affairs, came with him. A letter from Logan to William Penn, Junior, describes Governor Penn's return to Pennsylvania, and the political situation which he found there.

The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honester party here. Friends generally concluded that, after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted anything more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal damp. . . .

[26] Probably Samuel Jennings.
[27] *Memoirs, HSP,* Part I, 287-289.

> Friends love to the governor was great and sincere; they had long mourned for his absence, and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their differences, and repair all that was amiss . . .[28]

The events of the two years of his second visit to Pennsylvania would fill many pages. His personal presence did much to remove the difficulties which his deputies had had with the Assembly. Councils and visits with the Indians engaged much of his attention, and he was, of course, constant in attending meetings of his Society.

A personal interest which helped to lighten the burden of the cares of state during this period was the completion of his country estate at Pennsbury, where he was often in residence during this period. Land for the manor of Pennsbury had been purchased by William Markham in 1682, and shortly afterward William Penn had visited and approved the site, ordering the construction of suitable buildings. During his long absence in England, letter after letter had given directions to James Harrison, his steward or manager at Pennsbury, on the lay-out of the grounds, additions and changes in the buildings, and the planting of trees. Now, under the direction of the Governor and his capable wife, Pennsbury Manor was at last completed in all its details. In this imposing structure the Governor entertained numerous white and Indian visitors, and here he signed nearly a score of treaties with the red men. The Commonwealth has recently re-built or "re-created" the Manor House and other buildings at Pennsbury, where, in a setting such as he designed and enjoyed, it is easy to picture the great Proprietor's way of life.

His Philadelphia residence was the "Slate Roof House," on Second Street north of Walnut, where his son John, "the American," was born in February, 1700.

This happy period for William Penn and for Pennsylvania was, however, rapidly drawing to a close. A new war was in the offing in Europe, and once more the British government considered the possibility of suspending the colonial charters. This threat made his return to England necessary, but before he left, he was resolved to leave the provincial government on a firm and sound basis. In a speech to the Council on April 2, 1700, the Proprietor and Governor opened the discussion of changes in the constitutional framework.

[28] *Memoirs, HSP,* IX, 17-19.

Friends,

Altho' this be a Colonie of 19 years standing, and not inferior to any of its age and establishing, yet wee have much to do to make a free Constitution, and the Courts of Justice therein. There are in it some laws which may be accounted obsolete, others hurtfull, others imperfect, that will need improvement; and it will be requisit to make some new ones. Wee cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion. A few well made and duly executed, will better answer the ends of government than a great bulk unexecuted. You, Friends, are the people's choice and my Council: You will see what laws are fitt to be left out, and what are fitt to be made, and you with me are to prepare and propose them. I say this the rather, because of a false notion some have got, that because you are my Council, therefore, you are not the people's representatives. The ablest men have always been chosen to be of the Council to prepare Laws, and the assembly are to consent to them. Tho' two bodies, yet are we but one power: the one prepares, the other consents.

Friends—If in the Constitution by Charter there be any thing that jarrs—alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it; I advise you not to trifle with Government; I wish there were no need of any, but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracie. Government is not an end but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit—to make a trade of it—but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of Government.

Friends—Away with all parties, and look on yourselves, and on what is good for all, as a bodie politick; first as under the King and Crown of England, and next as under mee by Letters patent from that Crown.

At the late Election in Philadelphia, I was grieved to hear some make it a matter of religion. It is merely a humane and moral thing relating to society, trade, traffique, and publick good, consisting in virtue and justice; where these are maintained, there is government indeed. Studie peace and be at unity. Provide for the good of all; and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the publick's prosperity.

The last Assembly made two laws against piracy and forbidden trade. I heare they have not satt easie on the books of some, but I hope we having therein been carefull, wee shall have thanks for makeing them befor wee had orders so to do; and after so many calumnies and complaints wee have been loaded with, I hope those two laws will in some degree wash us clean. What concerns myself I also leave it with you to

consider. I have been now nineteen years your Proprietor and Governor, and have att my charge maintained my Deputy, whereby I have much worsted myself and estate. I hope it will be no wonder to any here, to hear mee make this mention of it.

Some say I come to gett money and be gone, but perhaps they that say so wish it so; I hope I or mine shall be with you while I or they live. The disasters of my absence have been mine as well as yours; and as I am used shall make suitable returns.[29]

* * *

[After some discussion,] the Governor and Proprietor "resolved the whole Council into a Grand Committee, to meet at the third hour in the afternoon, to read the Charter and Frame of Government, and to adopt what is good in either, to lay aside what is inconvenient and burdensome, and to add to both what may best suit the common good of all: And if you be under any doubt or scruple, I will endeavour to solve it. And present to me what you doe therein by to-morrow morning for my perusal." [30]

A long process of debate and discussion followed. The Assembly and the Council failed to reach agreement on the features of the new constitution, but finally agreed to deliver up the old charter (the Frame of Government) to the Proprietor, which was done on June 7, 1700. It was understood that William Penn would draw up the new frame, subject to the acceptance of the legislature. The Assembly presented proposals for changes, Governor Penn made counter-proposals, and the discussions dragged on until the time drew near for his departure. Urging compromise, William Penn wrote to the Assembly on October 15, 1701:

Friends.

Your Union is what I desire; but your Peace and Accommodating of one another is what I must expect from you: The Reputation of it is something, the Reality much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: Yield in Circumstantials to preserve Essentials; and being safe in one another, you will always be so in Esteem with me. Make me not sad now I am going to leave you, since it is for you, as well as for

Your Friend, and Proprietary, and Governor.

WILLIAM PENN[31]

[29] *Memoirs, HSP,* II, Part II, 187-190.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Pennsylvania Archives,* Eighth Series, I, 311.

To understand the significance of the constitution which William Penn and the legislature were formulating with such great care, it is well to look back over the troubled constitutional history of the province.

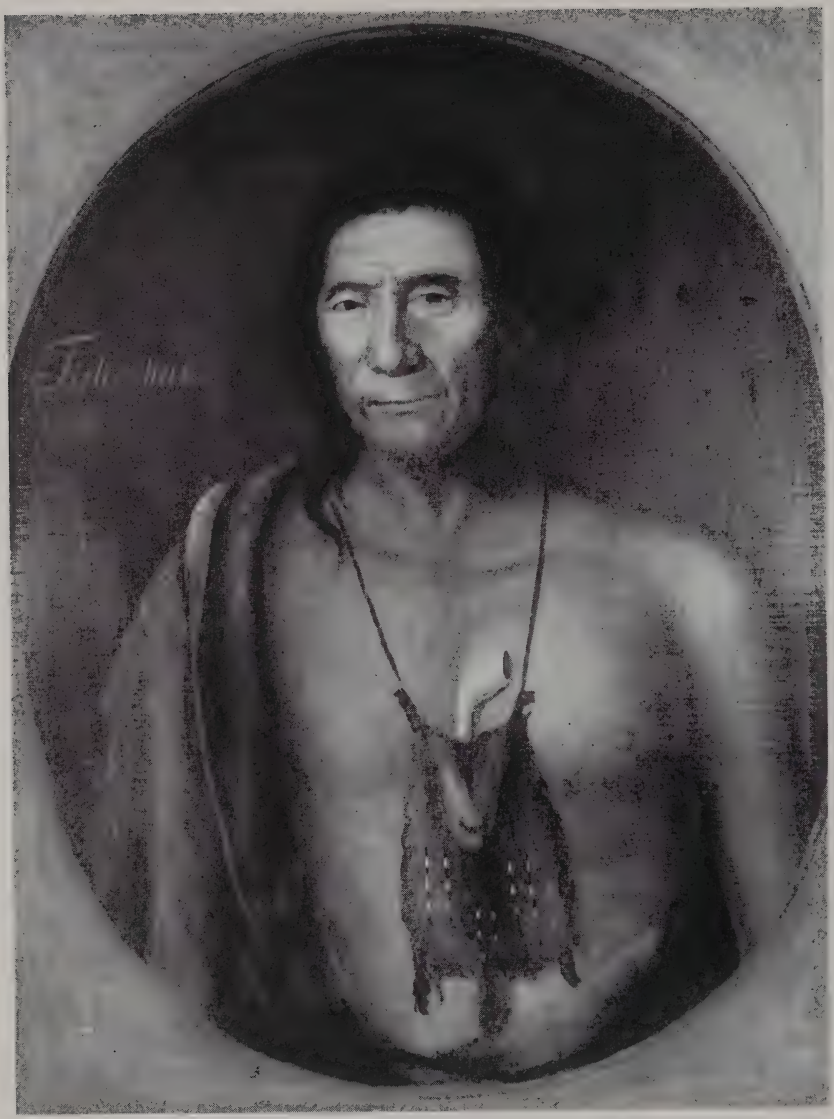
In the two decades following the Charter in which King Charles conferred the power to make laws for Pennsylvania upon William Penn, subject to the advice and consent of a representative Assembly, the Province had no less than four written Constitutions, called Frames of Government or Charters. The First Frame of Government, of May 5, 1682, was issued by the Proprietor in England. It remained in effect less than a year, being replaced by the Second Frame of Government on April 2, 1683. This was suspended in 1693, when Penn was deprived of his Province. Pennsylvania was governed as a royal province for a year, under Governor Fletcher of New York. After Penn's restoration, the Second Frame was put into force for a time. Then, doubts arose as to its legality, and Governor Markham resumed Fletcher's pattern of government until he and the Assembly agreed upon a Third Frame, known as Markham's Frame of Government, on November 7, 1696. When William Penn returned to his colony late in 1699, he immediately began to plan a final settlement of constitutional difficulties. The result was the Charter of Privileges, adopted on October 28, 1701. This the last Constitution of provincial Pennsylvania remained in effect until the American Revolution, longer than any other Constitution of Pennsylvania down to the present time.

THE CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES GRANTED BY WILLIAM PENN, ESQ.; TO THE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA AND TERRITORIES.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania,* and Territories thereunto belonging. To all to whom these Presents shall come sendeth Greeting. WHEREAS King CHARLES the Second, by his Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England,* bearing Date the fourth Day of *March,* in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred* and *Eighty,* was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my Heirs and Assigns for ever, this Province of *Pennsylvania,* with divers great Powers and Jurisdiction for the well Government thereof.

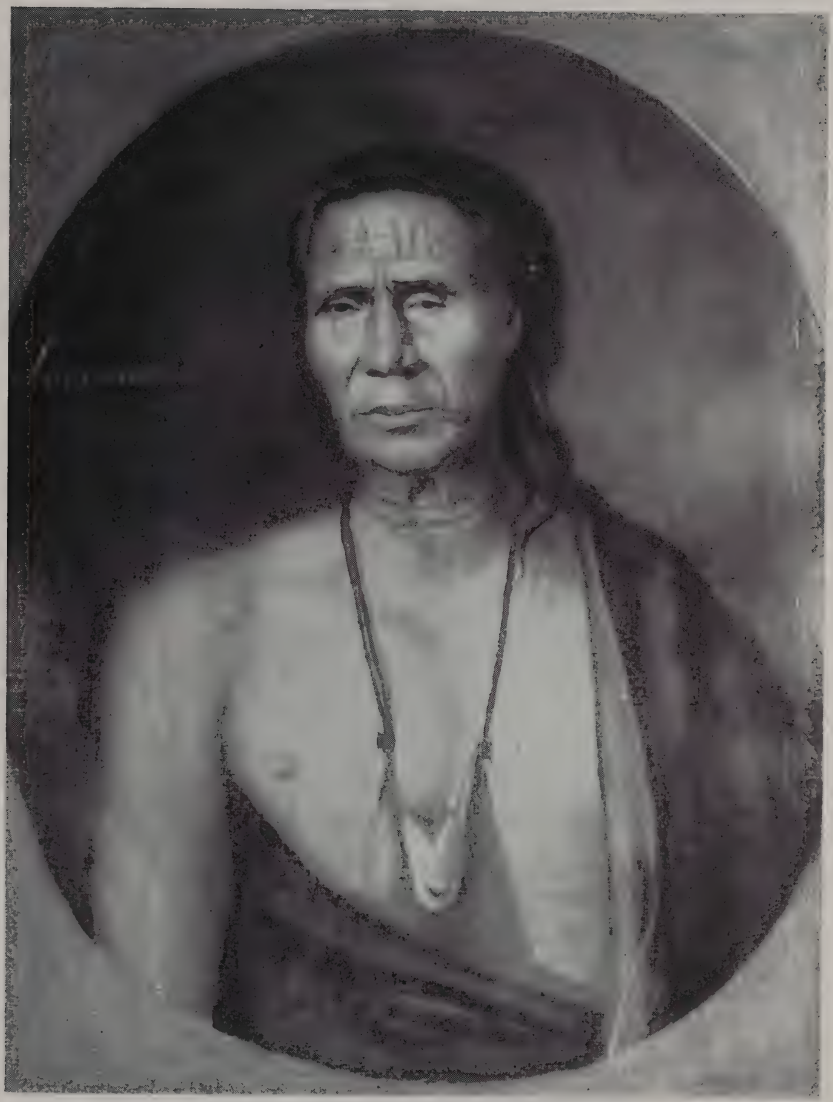
AND WHEREAS the King's dearest Brother, JAMES Duke of *York* and *Albany, &c.* by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal, duly perfected, bearing Date the Twenty-fourth Day of *August, One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty* and *Two,* did grant unto me, my Heirs

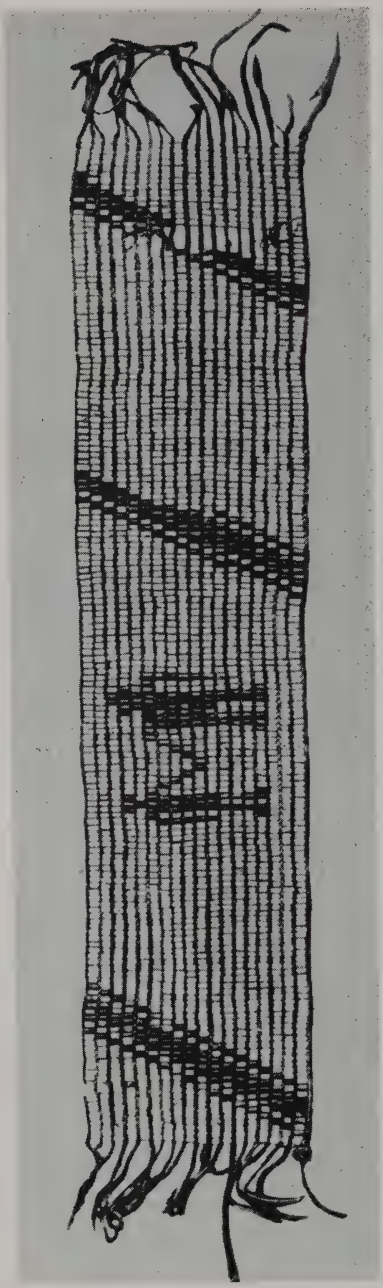
William Penn's Treaty with the Delaware Indians, 1683
From the mural by Paul Domville for the Mutual Trust Company (now closed), Fourth and Market Streets, Philadelphia. By courtesy of the artist.



Tishcohan and Lapowinso, Chiefs of the Delaware Indians Who Treated with the Descendants of William Penn as Proprietors About 1737

Painted by the Swedish artist, Gustavus Hesselius, for John Penn, the son of William Penn. Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Granville Penn, his grandson, in 1834.





The Wampum Belt

Given by the Indians to William Penn and presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 13, 1857 by his great-grandson, Granville John Penn.

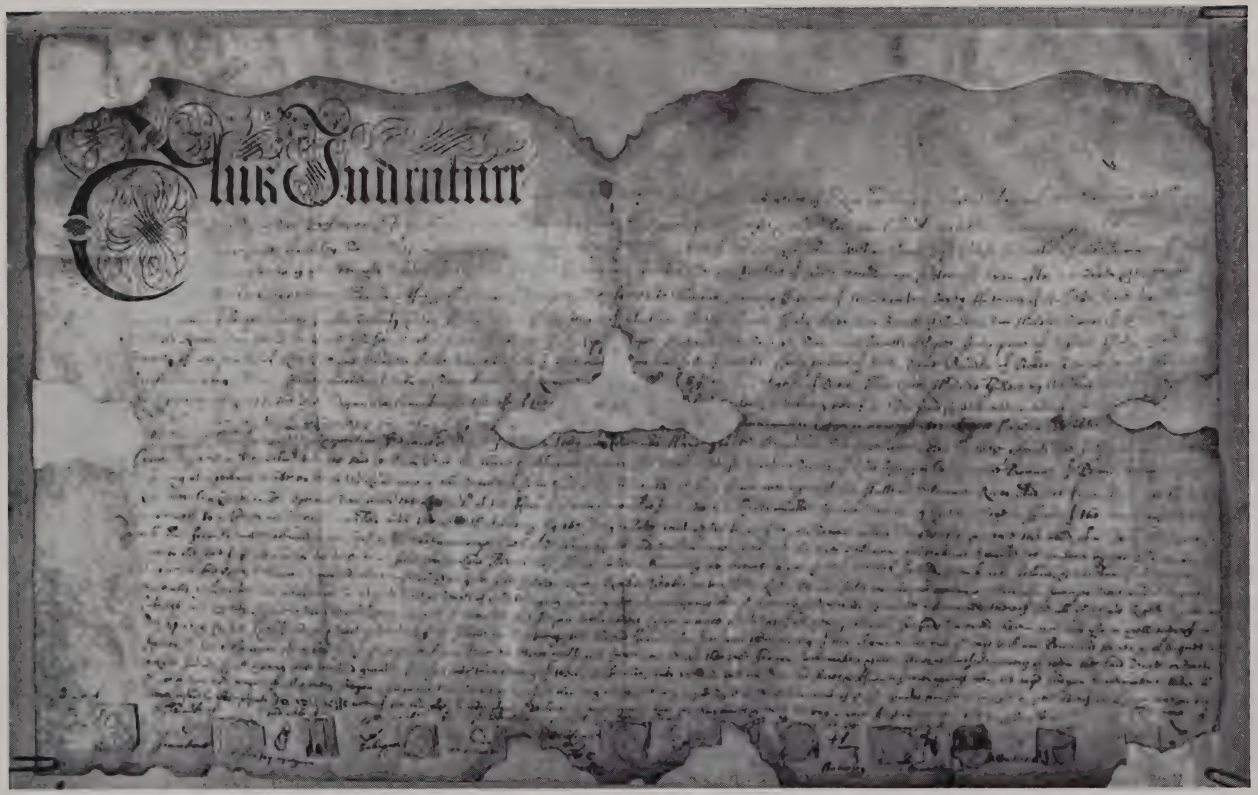
Silk Scarf

Made and given to William Penn by his wife, Gulielma, on his departure for Pennsylvania; according to tradition, worn by him at his Treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon, and bearing traces of its former azure blue color.

The Famous Penn Treaty Tree, Shackamaxon, now Kensington, Philadelphia
From the painting by Thomas Birch in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians

From the original painting by Benjamin West, 1772, in the State House (Independence Hall), Philadelphia.



Delaware Indian Deed, July 1682, to William Penn for Southern Bucks County
Showing marks and seals of twelve Indian Chiefs; from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

and Assigns, all that Tract of Land, now called the Territories of *Pennsylvania,* together with Powers and Jurisdictions for the good Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that might be concerned in the said Province and Territories, and for the good Government thereof, I the said *William Penn,* in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty* and *Three,* for me, my Heirs and Assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers therein, divers Liberties, Franchises and Properties, as by the said Grant, instituted, *The* FRAME *of the Government of the Province of* Pennsylvania, *and Territories* thereunto belonging, in America, may appear; which Charter or Frame being found in some Parts of it, not so suitable to the present Circumstances of the Inhabitants, was in *The Third Month* in the *Year One Thousand Seven Hundred* delivered up to me, by six Parts of Seven of the Freemen of this Province and Territories, in General Assembly met, Provision being made in the said Charter, for that End and Purpose.

AND WHEREAS I was then pleased to promise, That I would restore the said Charter to them again, with necessary Alterations, or in Lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present Circumstances and Conditions of the said Inhabitants, which they have now, by their Representatives in General Assembly met at *Philadelphia,* requested me to grant.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That for the further Well-being and good Government of the said Province, and Territories; and in Pursuance of the Rights and Powers before-mentioned, I the said *William Penn* do declare, grant and confirm, unto all the Freemen, Planters, and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants in this Province and Territories, these following Liberties, Franchises and Privileges, so far as in me lieth, to be held enjoyed, and kept, by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants of and in the said Province, and Territories thereunto annexed for ever.

First,

BECAUSE no People can be truly happy tho' under the greatest Enjoyment of civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences, as to their religious Profession and Worship; And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits; and the Author as well as Object of all Divine Knowledge, Faith and Worship, who only doth enlighten the Minds, and persuade and convince the Understandings of People, I do hereby grant and declare, That no Persons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge One Almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and profess him, or themselves, obliged to

live quietly under the civil Government, shall be in any Case molested or prejudiced, in his or their Person or Estate, because of his or their consciencious Perswasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Perswasion.

AND that all Persons who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ,* the Saviour of the World, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other Perswasions and Practices in Point of Conscience and Religion) to serve this Government in any Capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they sólemnly promising, when lawfully required, Allegience to the King as Sovereign, and Fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the Attests as now established by the Law made at Newcastle, in the Year *One Thousand* and *Seven Hundred,* intituled, *An Act directing the Attests of several Officers and Ministers, as now amended and confirmed this present Assembly.*

II.

FOR the well governing of this Province and Territories, there shall be an Assembly yearly chosen by the Freemen thereof, to consist of four Persons out of each County, of most Note for Virtue, Wisdom and Ability (or of a greater Number at any Time, as the Governor and Assembly shall agree) upon the first day of *October* for ever; and shall sit on the fourteenth Day of the same Month at Philadelphia, unles[s] the Governor and Council for the Time being, shall see Cause to appoint another Place within the said Province or Territories: Which Assembly shall have Power to chuse a Speaker and other their Officers; and shall be Judges of the Qualifications and Elections of their own Members; sit upon their own Adjournments; appoint Committees; prepare Bills, in order to pass into Laws; impeach Criminals, and redress Grievances; and shall have all other Powers and Privileges of an Assembly, according to the Rights of the Freeborn Subjects of *England,* and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in *America.*

AND if any County or Counties, shall refuse or neglect to chuse their respective Representatives as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in Assembly, those who are so chosen and met, shall have the full Power of an Assembly, in as ample Manner as if all the Representatives had been chosen and met, provided they are not less than Two Thirds of the whole Number that ought to meet.

AND that the Qualifications of Electors and Elected, and all other Matters and Things relating to Elections of Representatives to serve in Assemblies, tho' not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain as by a Law of this Government, made at *Newcastle* in the Year *One Thousand Seven Hundred,* intituled, *An Act to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly, and to regulate the Elections.*

III.

THAT the Freeman in each respective County, at the Time and Place of meeting for electing their Representatives to serve in Assembly, may, as often as there shall be Occasion, chuse a double Number of Persons to present to the Governor for Sheriffs and Coroners, to serve for three Years, if so long they behave themselves well; out of which respective Elections and Presentments, the Governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said Officers, the third Day after such Presentment, or else the first named in such Presentment, for each Office as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that Office for the Time before respectively limited; and in Case of Death or Default, such Vacancies shall be supplied by the Governor to serve to the End of the said Term.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, That if the said Freemen shall, at any Time, neglect or decline to chuse a Person or Persons for either or both the aforesaid Offices, then and in such Case, the Persons that are or shall be in the respective Office of Sheriffs or Coroners, at the Time of Election, shall remain therein, until they shall be removed by another Election as aforesaid.

AND that the Justices of the respective Counties, shall or may nominate and present to the Governor three Persons, to serve for Clerk of the Peace for the said County when there is a Vacancy, one of which the Governor shall commissionate within ten Days after such Presentment, or else the first nominated, shall serve in the said Office during good Behaviour.

IV.

THAT the Laws of this Government shall be in this Stile, viz. *By the Governor, with the Consent and Approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met;* and shall be, after Confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls Office, and kept at Philadelphia, unless the Governor and Assembly shall agree to appoint another Place.

V.

THAT all Criminals shall have the same Privileges of Witnesses and Council as their Prosecutors.

VI.

THAT no Person or Persons shall, or may, at any Time hereafter, be obliged to answer any Complaint, Matter or Thing, whatsoever relating to Property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other Place, but in ordinary Course of Justice, unless Appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by Law appointed.

VII.

THAT no Person within this Government shall be licensed by the Governor to keep an Ordinary, Tavern, or House of publick Entertainment, but such who are first recommended to him, under the Hands of the Justices of the respective Counties, signed in open Court; which Justices are and shall be hereby impowered, to suppress and forbid any Person, keeping such Publick-house as aforesaid, upon their Misbehaviour, on such Penalties as the Law doth or shall direct; and to recommend others from time to time as they shall see Occasion.

VIII.

IF any Person, through Temptation or Melancholy, shall destroy himself, his Estate, real and personal, shall notwithstanding, descend to his Wife and Children, or Relations, as if he had died a natural Death; and if any Person shall be destroyed or killed by Casualty or Accident, there shall be no Forfeiture to the Governor by Reason thereof.

AND no Act, Law or Ordinance whatsoever shall, at any Time hereafter, be made or done, to alter, change or diminish the Form or Effect of this Charter, or of any Part or Clause therein, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Governor for the Time being, and Six Parts of Seven of the Assembly met.

BUT because the Happiness of Mankind depends so much upon the Enjoying of Liberty of their Consciences as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, That the first Article of this Charter relating to Liberty of Conscience, and every Part and Clause therein, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain, without any Alteration, inviolably for ever.

AND LASTLY, I, the said *William Penn,* Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania,* and Territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs or Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expressed, nor any Part thereof, shall be infringed or broken; And if any Thing shall be procured or done, by any Person or Persons, contrary to these Presents, it shall be held of no Force or Effect.

IN WITNESS whereof, I the said *William Penn,* at *Philadelphia,* in *Pennsylvania,* have unto this present Charter of Liberties, set my Hand and broad Seal, this Twenty-eighth Day of *October,* in the Year of our Lord, *One Thousand Seven Hundred and One,* being the

thirteenth Year of the Reign of King WILLIAM the Third, over *England, Scotland, France and Ireland,* &c. and the Twenty-first Year of my Government.

AND NOTWITHSTANDING the Closure and Test of this present Charter as aforesaid, I think fit to add this following Proviso thereunto, as Part of the same, *That is to say,* That notwithstanding any Clause or Clauses in the above-mentioned Charter, obliging the Province and Territories to join together in Legislation, I am content, and do hereby declare, That if the Representatives of the Province and Territories shall not hereafter agree to join together in Legislation, and that the same shall be signified unto me, or my Deputy, in open Assembly, or otherwise, from under the Hands and Seals of the Representatives, for the Time being, of the Province and Territories, or the Major Part of either of them, at any Time within three Years from the Date thereof, that in such Case, the Inhabitants of each of the Three Counties of this Province, shall not have less than Eight Persons to represent them in Assembly for the Province; and the Inhabitants of the Town of Philadelphia (when the said Town is incorporated) Two Persons to represent them in Assembly; and the Inhabitants of each County in the Territories, shall have as many Persons to represent them, in a district Assembly for the Territories, as shall be by them requested as aforesaid.

NOTWITHSTANDING which Separation of the Province and Territories, in respect of Legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, That the Inhabitants of both Province and Territories, shall separately enjoy all other Liberties, Privileges and Benefits, granted jointly to them in this Charter, any Law, Usage or Custom of this Government heretofore made and practised, or any Law made and passed by this General Assembly, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

William Penn

This CHARTER of PRIVILEGES *being distinctly read in Assembly, and the Whole and every Part thereof being approved of and agreed to by us, we do thankfully receive the same from our Proprietary and Governor, at* Philadelphia, *this Twenty-eighth Day of* October, One Thousand Seven Hundred *and* One.

Signed on Behalf, and by Order of the Assembly, per

JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*[32]

[32] *Pennsylvania Archives,* Eighth Series, Volume I, 387-392.

DISSENSION AND ADJUSTMENT

This Charter has been called "the most famous of all colonial constitutions, because it contained in its provisions many of the most important features of all workable written constitutions." [33] The Assembly received full legislative power, while the Council survived only as a group of advisers to the Governor. The way was left clear for Delaware to set up a separate legislature, if her representatives so desired; and this was done in 1704. William Penn had relinquished such a great portion of his powers that "except in the appointment of the governor, proprietary rule in Pennsylvania, as far as administration was concerned, virtually came to an end then and there." [34]

Penn had good reason to believe that the government of his province was now on a sound and lasting basis. After chartering the city of Philadelphia, and appointing Andrew Hamilton to be Lieutenant Governor, he set out for England, landing at Portsmouth in December.

In England, his last years were troubled by financial difficulties, which ruined his hope of a speedy return to Pennsylvania. He had incurred great expense in establishing the colony, and even in maintaining it, for the Assembly was none too cooperative in paying the costs of government. The dishonesty of a trusted employee, who had falsified accounts and tricked William Penn into mortgaging the province, led to a troublesome lawsuit. He had to spend nine months in a debtors' prison in 1708. Though his friends advanced money to pay his creditors, he was never in a position to return to his beloved colony.

With all these troubles, his constant care for the welfare and protection of his colony was unabated. His clear vision in this regard is well demonstrated in a letter of May 22, 1709, to the Duke of Marlborough, Britain's leader in the war then raging with France. If his advice had been heeded, all the long succession of colonial wars with the French and Indians would have been averted. It should be said in Marlborough's favor, that he fell from power before the peace was made.

[33] Channing, Edward, *History of the United States,* II, 322.
[34] Andrews, Charles M., *Colonial Period of American History,* III, 320.

Noble Friend,

I hope my last came time enough for the peace, especially since all our news made us believe there would be none this year, but today's prints, speaking so very favourably of it, I send this in reference to our northern bounds in America.

The English Empire on the continent lies upon the south side, and we claim to the North Sea of Hudson's Bay; but I should be glad if our north bounds might be expressed and allowed to the south side of St. Lawrence's River that feeds Canada eastward, and comes from the lakes westward; which will make a glorious country, and from those lakes due west to the River Mississippi, and travers that river to the extreme bounds of the continent westward; whereby we may secure one thousand miles of that river down to the Bay of Mexico, and that the French demolish, or, at least, quit all their settlements within the bounds aforesaid.

Without such a settlement of our American bounds, we shall be in hazard of being dangerously surprised at one time or other, by the French and their Indians; especially if they send but twelve ships of war to attack us by sea, I humbly refer it to the Dukes English, Heart and Head, to secure to his country so great a one, and of that value on many accounts, (and no more, I think, than we have a real claim to).[35]

Despite William Penn's hopes and pleas for an end to political bickering in Pennsylvania, the disputes continued between the Assembly and the deputy governors, and between the party favoring his rule and the party against it, until a popular reaction in the year 1710 swept all his opponents out of the legislature. A few passages in a mournful letter which he wrote, before this electoral "upset," shows his gloom and disappointment at the course which his province was taking.

My Old Friends—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me that I have

[35] *Memoirs, HSP,* III, Part I, 291-292.

not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense to your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees (for, although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has interest there is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects), I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there: I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

. . . I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but, to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive either the sense or meaning. What are the distresses, grievances and oppressions, that

the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any of the Queen's dominions?

. . . I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some year I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends and live so to the end, our relation in the Truth having but the same true interest.

I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

William Penn[36]

FAREWELL WORDS

After this letter, it is pleasing to reflect that there was harmony in the province during the last three years of William Penn's participation in Pennsylvania affairs. However, the financial burden was great, and fearing lest the colony might some day pass into the wrong hands, he began negotiations to sell it to the Crown. In this he took every precaution to assure the rights and privileges of the people, so that—even as a royal province—the *holy experiment* which he had begun might continue. This is apparent in a letter written to Friends in Pennsylvania, July 24, 1712.

> . . . Though I have not actually sold my Government to our truly Good Queen, yet her able Lord treasurer and I have agreed it, and that affair of the Prizes . . . is part of the Queen's payment, viz., her one-third; and the other comes very opportunely that belongs to me. . . . But I have taken effectual care, that all the Laws and privileges I have granted to you, shall be observed by the Queen's Governors, etc.; and that we who are Friends shall be in a more particular man-

[36] Janney, 515-519.

> ner regarded and treated by the Queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the government, being humble and discreet in your conduct, . . . and perhaps Col. Quarry, if not J. Moore, may happen to be otherwise employed, notwithstanding the politick opinion of one of my officers in that Government, that is still for gaining them which I almost think impossible. But be that as it will, I purpose to see you if God give me life this fall, but I grow old and infirm, yet would gladly see you once more before I die, and my young sons and daughter also settled upon good tracts of land for them and theirs after them, to clear and settle upon, as Jacob's sons did. I close when I tell you that I desire fervent prayers to the Lord for continuing my life, that I may see Pennsylvania once more before I die, and that I am
>
> Your faithful loving friend,
>
> Wm. Penn[37]

His pathetic hope to see Pennsylvania again before his death was not fulfilled, nor was the sale of his province completed. Two months before this letter, he had felt the first stroke of paralysis. The second, in October, virtually cut him off from life and shut him away from the affairs of the world. He could not execute the papers necessary to transfer the province to the Queen, and Pennsylvania therefore remained in the possession of his heirs until the American Revolution.

The founding of Pennsylvania, and of New Jersey and Delaware, had far-reaching consequences which have been expressed most clearly by a British writer:

> William Penn received his grant and charter by the fervent good will of Charles and James. That grant and charter lie at the root of all later western expansion of English speech and custom over what was later to be called the United States. . . . The pioneers who gradually extended the influences of the eastern seaboard into the interior, and so built up what was to become the United States, were of every kind and origin . . . but the door through which all had to pass, the political society which determined the western movement, was . . . that of the broad, wise, and just William Penn: the Quaker who founded Pennsylvania, and bequeathed his spirit to his followers.[38]

[37] *Memoirs, HSP,* I, 210-212.
[38] Belloc, Hilairé, *Charles II,* 136-137.

V

WILLIAM PENN AND THE INDIANS

> There is no phase of history more important or more interesting . . . than that of William Penn's approach to the American Indians; it shows both the nobility and the limitation of his outlook.[1]

Not only was Penn a man of policy and theory; he was a man of a conciliatory and loving spirit. His view of the Indian was practical and at the same time romantic. He felt that, although, by virtue of a charter from King Charles II he could claim almost unlimited powers over the native people in his Province, Indian hostility was a thing to dread. Everything was to be gained by a friendly agreement, and a rapid peaceful expansion of the colony would depend upon the proper treatment of the Indians. Even though he would possess their lands, he wanted to do so by process of purchase. God was giving the land to the white men, but Penn saw no reason why this could not be explained to the Indians.

Penn did not question his right, nor his duty, to practice invasive colonization, but his deep sense of humanity made him realize the importance of the Indians, as children of God, and brothers. He was fully aware of the attitude of the natives toward the English, thus he carefully prepared his way by sending letters and messages previous to his coming; letters much like the one following which was sent to the Indians by the commissioners who proceeded to Pennsylvania for the purpose of settling the colonies. The three commissioners were appointed in 1681; the letter is dated October 18, 1681.

> My Friends:
>
> There is one great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I, and all people owe their being and well being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account, for all that we do in the world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and help, and do good to one another and not to do harm and mischief one to another.
>
> Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the king of the country

[1] Vulliamy, C. E., *William Penn,* 176.

where I live, hath given unto me a great province; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends, else what would the great God say to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather then be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship, by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

I shall shortly come to you myself. At which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent to you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you,

I am your loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN[2]

Thomas Holme was appointed Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania in 1682. Penn sent another of the preparatory letters to the Indians and Holme read it to them, through an interpreter. The letter is dated April 25, 1682.

The Great God who is the power and wisdom that made you and me incline your hearts to righteousness, love and peace. This I send to assure you of my love, and to desire your love to my friends, and when the Great God brings me

[2] *Memoirs, HSP,* VI, 251, 252.

among you, I intend to order all things in such manner that we may all live in love and peace one with another, which I hope the Great God will incline both me and you to do. I seek nothing but the honor of His name, and that we who are His workmanship, may do that which is well pleasing to Him. The man which delivers this unto you, is my special friend, sober, wise and loving. You may believe him. I have already taken care that none of my people wrong you, by good laws I have provided for that purpose, nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum to make your people drunk. If any thing should be out of order, expect when I come, it shall be mended, and I will bring you some things of our country, that are useful and pleasing to you. So I rest in the love of our God that made us

I am

Your loving friend,

WM. PENN[3]

ONAS THE INDIAN'S FRIEND

The first biographers of Penn, in seven languages and seven lands, unanimously extol his relations with the Indians as one of his greatest achievements and as one of the outstanding facts on the credit side of human history. His later critics, also, bow before this verdict. Macaulay, for example said: "He will always be mentioned with honour as the founder of a colony, who did not, in his dealings with a savage people, abuse the strength derived from civilizations."[4]

It is pleasant to recall that William Penn signalized his arrival in his Province, with a fair and just purchase of land from the Indians.

The proprietor's [Penn] first and principal care was to promote peace with all; and accordingly he established a friendly correspondence, by way of treaty with the Indians, at least twice a year. (This is worth noticing,) and strictly enjoined the inhabitants and surveyors, not to settle any land to which the Indians had a claim, until he had first, at his own cost, satisfied and paid them for the same . . . Which discreet method so effectually engaged their friendship, that they entirely loved him and his people,—when at the same time, several of the neighboring colonies were at war and in great distress by the Indians.[5]

[3] *Ibid.,* 252, 253.
[4] Hull, 330.
[5] Watson, John F., *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania,* I, 76.

Later he discovered experimentally their belief in a Great Spirit, their standard of fair play, their response to trust and kindness, and their belief in a future state. Penn's entire treatment of the Indians was based on his conception of them as fellow-sons of God, to be treated by him as brothers.[6]

Penn held much and cordial intercourse with the Indians. Putting away the formal stiffness of English manners, he won their simple hearts by his easy confidence and familiar bearing. He walked with them alone into the forests. He sat with them on the ground to watch the young men dance and perform their exercises. He joined in their feasts, and ate of their roasted acorns and hominy. When they expressed their rapturous delight at seeing the great Onas—the native name of Penn—imitate their national customs, not to be outdone in any of those feats of personal prowess which the Red Men value so highly, he rose from his seat, entered the list with the leapers, and beat them all; at seeing which the younger warriors could hardly control the extravagance of their admiration.[7]

He had less trouble with the Indians than other people. . . . Chiefs with unpronounceable names resorted to Philadelphia, to hear speeches from him, and to make speeches of their own. They were to be, both said, of one head and one heart; at no time to hurt, injure or defraud; but to be ever ready to do justice and maintain friendship. Indians were not to help any nation at war with England; and to prevent abuses, nobody was to traffic with them except such as were approved and authorized by the Governor; nor were they to sell their furs and skins to any people outside the province. Free trade was not one of the principles included in the Pennsylvania government. In harmony with a restrictive policy, no doubt intended for the good of unsophisticated natives, he projected a sort of joint-stock company to deal with the inhabitants in matters of barter, and they were instructed to keep spirituous liquors as far as possible out of their way; at the same time the company was to do all that was possible to promote amongst them the knowledge of Christianity.

A visitor at Pennsbury informs us how the Indians behaved when they came on a visit. They would strike their heads three times, saying they did not make treaties there; and then striking their breasts they would say, "We make them here." The Governor gave them match coats or blanket coverings . . . After audience in the hall of the mansion, they

[6] Comfort, W. W., *William Penn's Religious Background, PMHB,* LXVIII, 4.
[7] Dixon, 210.

> went out into the garden, to perform their *cantico* or worship. They kindled a fire, round which the men sat down by themselves, and with *fixed* eyes, sang "a melodious hymn." . . .[8]

Penn's treatment of the Indians was very modern. He expected them to join in the community; not live in separate reservations. He respected their religion and culture and did not try to crush them under a veneer of Christianity. But what was most important, he also gave them opportunities to come to know Christian culture.

> The care for the welfare of the Indians, which the American Quakers were to contribute in the nineteenth century towards counterbalancing 'a century of dishonour' on the part of the American government, was given a great stimulus by Penn. The genius of Quakerism supplied the principle for this, and Penn had a great and dramatic opportunity for carrying it into practice. Not only did he buy their land, instead of seizing it by conquest, and treat them justly in government and generously in barter and in hospitality (forbidding the sale of alcoholic liquors to them, and giving them equal representation on juries); but he also regarded it as an essential part of his Holy Experiment to live with them as a good neighbour, renouncing all show of armed force, and endeavouring by friendship and example to civilize and Christianize their barbarous manners and nature.[9]

INDIAN TREATIES AND PURCHASES

> It is the Shackamaxon treaty which marks the highest level of Penn's fame. And rightly so, for it is the most perfect and the most productive of all his gestures. That speech by the elm tree was the speech of no bouncing imperialist bloated with false pride of race; it was the plain speech of an honest man with a true vision of human brotherhood, even if he had at the same time an equally true vision of the peaceful way to prosperity.[10]
>
> His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the King's patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed Commissioners . . . who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a Treaty of eternal Friendship.

[8] Stoughton, 311, 312.
[9] Hull, 329.
[10] Vulliamy, 187.

This the Commissioners had done; and this was the time when, by mutual agreement between him and the Indian Chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their numbers and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon,—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

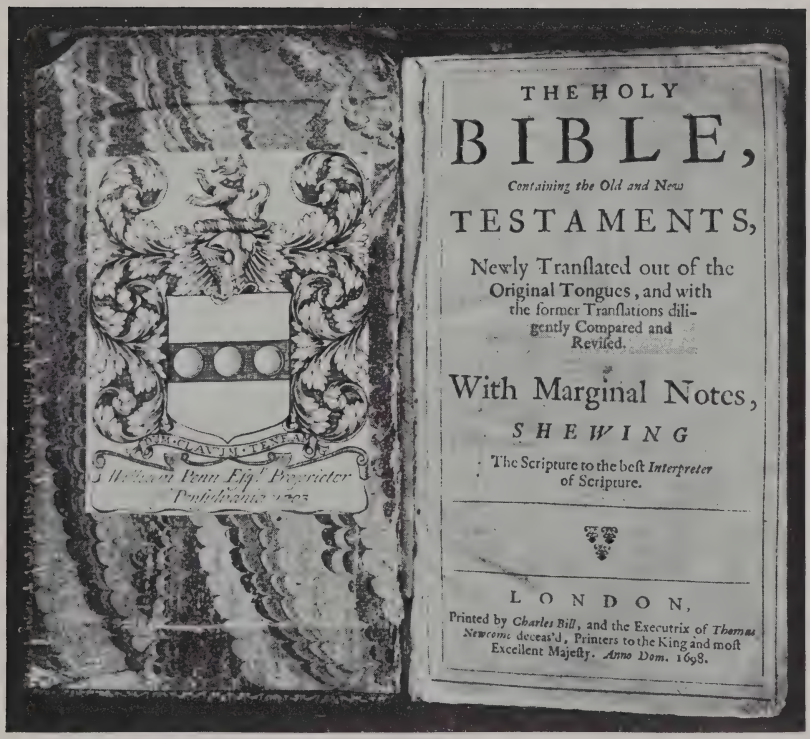
. . . There was at Shackamaxon an elm tree of prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of eminence. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash round his waist, which was made of silk net-work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it except in colour.[11]

It was at this time [1682], when he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them, and for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted. . . . A firm peace was, therefore, now reciprocally concluded between William Penn and the Indians; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a chain of friendship and covenant indelible, never to be broken, so long as the sun and moon endured.

Of this kind of conference he afterwards had many others, and some on a religious account, during both times of his residence in the country. His conduct, in general, to these people, was so engaging, his justice, in particular, so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them, were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced, while they continue a people.

That they retain these things, and hand them, by tradition, from father to son, many instances have since more particularly shewn; of which one was in 1721, several years after the

[11] Clarkson, I, 337-340.



William Penn's Copy of the Bible with Coat-of-Arms
From the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Penn's Seat in the Blue Idol Meeting House Near Worminghurst, Sussex, England

NO

Croſs, no Crovvn:

Or ſeveral Sober

REASONS

Againſt

Hat-Honour, Titular-Reſpects, You to a ſingle Perſon, with the *Apparel* and *Recreations* of the Times:

Being inconſiſtant with Scripture, Reaſon, and the Practice, as well of the beſt Heathens, as the holy Men and Women of all Generations; and conſequently fantaſtick, impertinent and ſinfull.

With Sixty Eight Teſtimonies of the moſt famous Perſons, of both former and latter Ages for further confirmation.

In Defence of the poor deſpiſed *Quakers*, againſt the Practice and Objections of their Adverſaries.

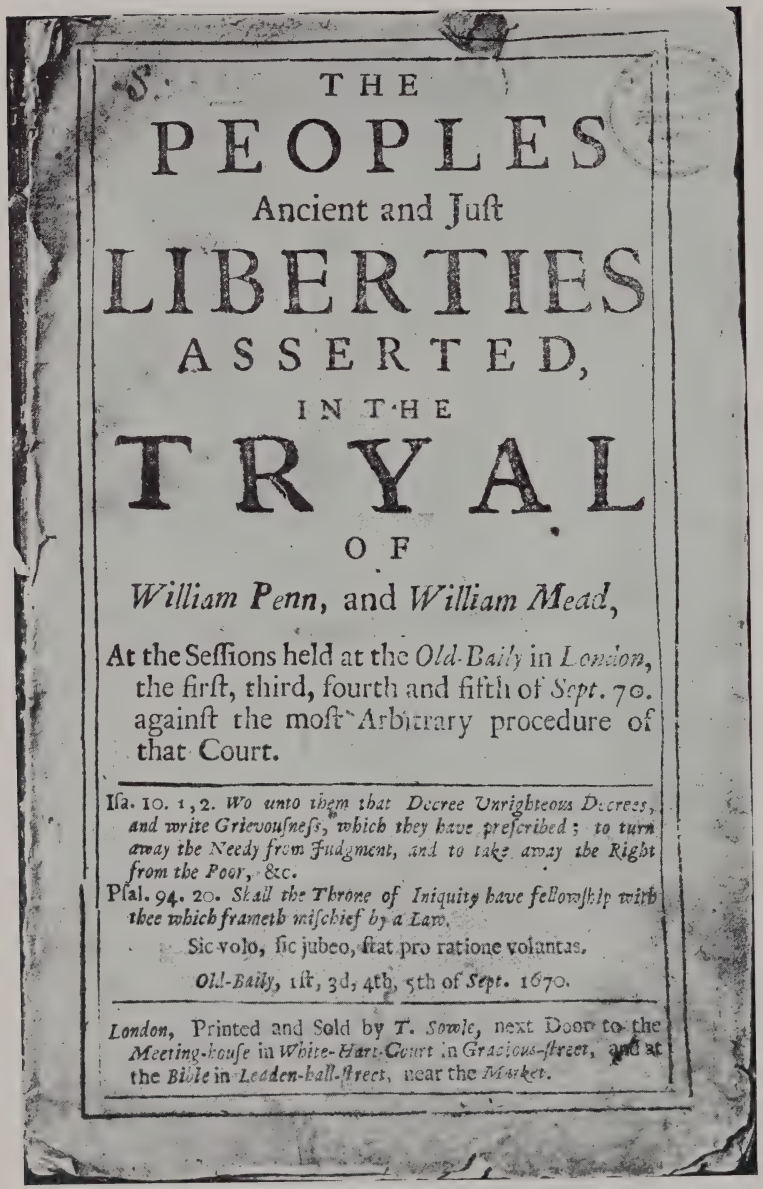
By W. Penn *j.*

An humble Diſciple, and patient Bearer of the Croſs of Jeſus.

But Mordecai *bowed not*, Eſth. 3. 2. Adam *where art thou?* Gen. 3. 9. *In like manner the women adorn themſelves in modeſt Apparal, not with brodered hair, &c.* 1 Tim. 2. 9. *Thy Law is my Meditation all the day*, Pſal. 119. 97.

Printed in the Year, 1669.

Title Page of William Penn's 'No Cross, No Crown,' 1669
From a first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.



THE
PEOPLES
Ancient and Juſt
LIBERTIES
ASSERTED,
IN THE
TRYAL
OF
William Penn, and *William Mead*,

At the Seſſions held at the *Old-Baily* in *London*, the firſt, third, fourth and fifth of *Sept.* 70. againſt the moſt Arbitrary procedure of that Court.

Iſa. 10. 1, 2. *Wo unto them that Decree Unrighteous Decrees, and write Grievouſneſs, which they have preſcribed; to turn away the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the Right from the Poor,* &c.

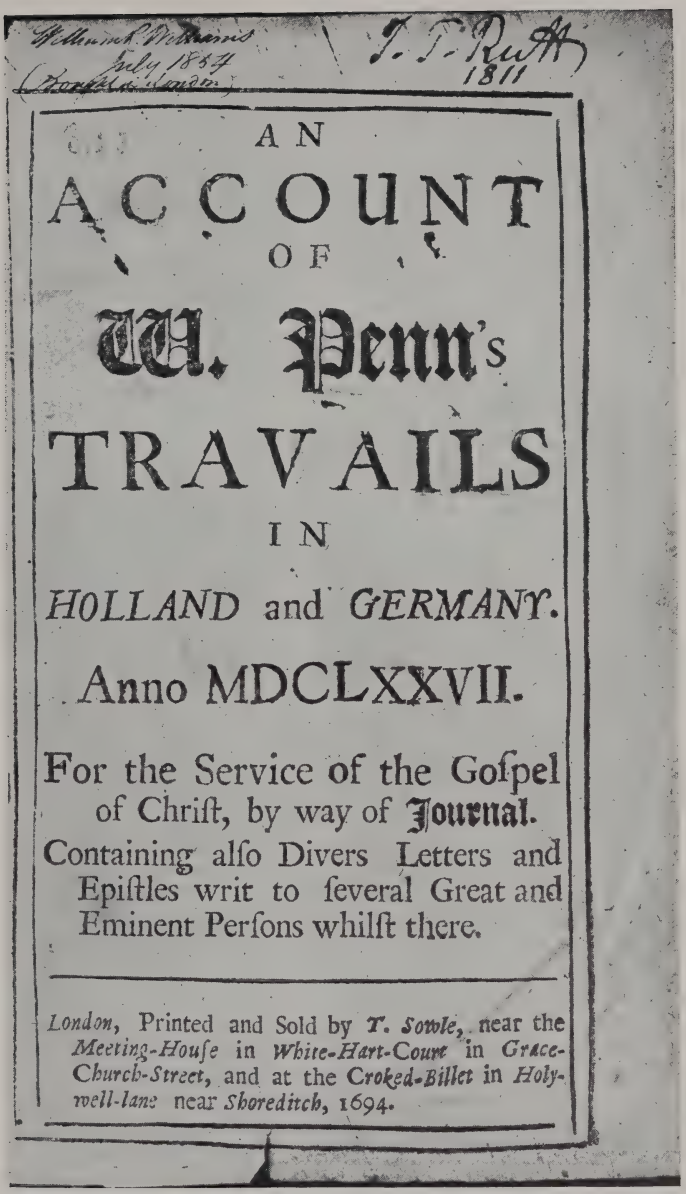
Pſal. 94. 20. *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee which frameth miſchief by a Law.*

Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.

Old-Baily, 1ſt, 3d, 4th, 5th of *Sept.* 1670.

London, Printed and Sold by *T. Sowle*, next Door to the *Meeting-houſe* in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-ſtreet*, and at the *Bible* in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, near the *Market*.

Title Page of William Penn's 'The People's . . . Liberties Asserted,' 1670
From a first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.



AN

ACCOUNT

OF

W. Penn's

TRAVAILS

IN

HOLLAND and *GERMANY*.

Anno MDCLXXVII.

For the Service of the Gospel of Christ, by way of **Journal**.

Containing also Divers Letters and Epistles writ to several Great and Eminent Persons whilst there.

London, Printed and Sold by *T. Sowle*, near the *Meeting-House* in *White-Hart-Court* in *Grace-Church-Street*, and at the *Croked-Billet* in *Holy-well-lane* near *Shoreditch*, 1694.

Title Page of Penn's 'Travails in Holland and Germany,' 1677
From a first edition in Friends' Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROVINCE

OF

PENNSILVANIA

IN

AMERICA;

Lately Granted under the Great Seal

OF

ENGLAND

TO

William Penn, &c.

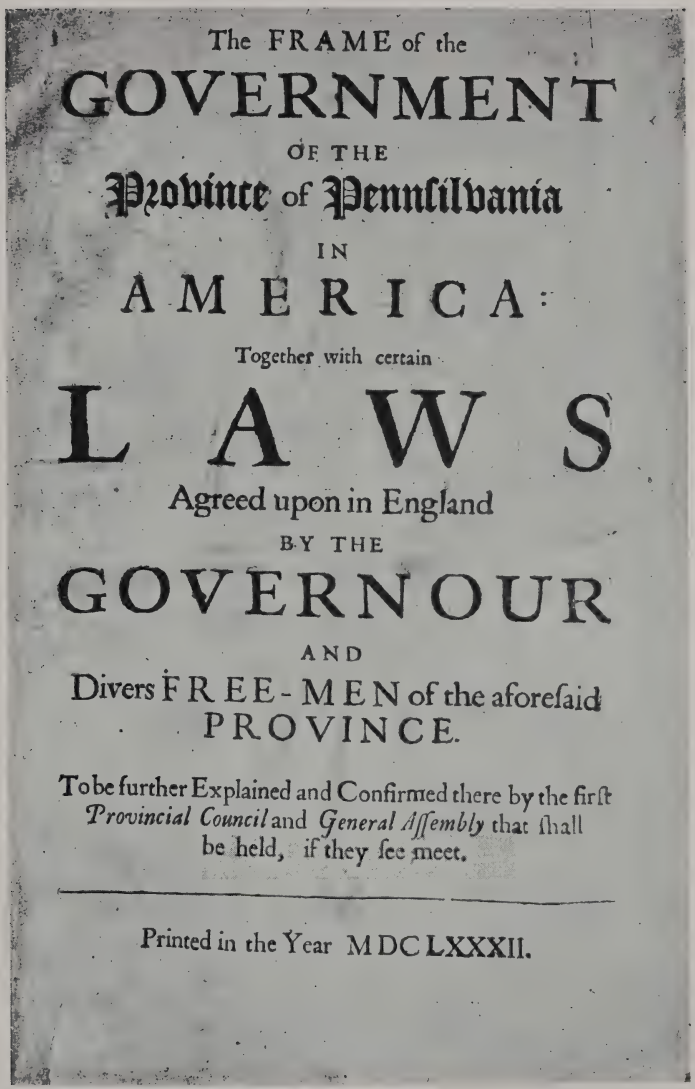
Together with Priviledges and Powers neceſſary to the well-governing thereof.

Made publick for the Information of ſuch as are or may be diſpoſed to Tranſport themſelves or Servants into thoſe Parts.

LONDON: Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Clark* Bookſeller in *George-Yard Lombard-ſtreet*, 1681.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,' 1681

From a copy of the first edition in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



The FRAME of the

GOVERNMENT

OF THE

Province of Pennſilvania

IN

AMERICA:

Together with certain

LAWS

Agreed upon in England

BY THE

GOVERNOUR

AND

Divers FREE-MEN of the aforeſaid PROVINCE.

To be further Explained and Confirmed there by the firſt *Provincial Council* and *General Aſſembly* that ſhall be held, if they ſee meet.

Printed in the Year MDCLXXXII.

Title Page of William Penn's Frame of Government for the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682
From the first edition in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

AN

ESSAY

Towards the Preſent and Future

PEACE

OF

Europe,

BY THE

Eſtabliſhment of an *European*

Dyet, Parliament,

Or Eſtates.

Beati Pacifici.

Cedant Arma Togæ.

London, Printed in the Year, 1693.

W. Penn.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Essay . . . on the Peace of Europe,' 1693
From the first edition in Friends' Reference Library, London.

> death of William Penn, in a conference between Governor Keith and the Five Nations, held at Conestogo, in Pennsylvania. Their Chief Speaker, with a countenance, which shewed great respect, said—"They should never forget the council, that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write, as the English did, yet they could keep, in the memory, what was said in their councils."
>
> At the treaty renewed in the year following, at Albany, they mentioned the name of William Penn with great affection, calling him, a good man . . . And, as their highest compliment to Governor Keith, they used this expression, "we esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself" telling him, "Brother Onas," (which in their language signifies, a Pen, and by which name they call the Governors of Pennsylvania ever since it was first settled by William Penn) "we are glad to hear the former treaties, which we have made with William Penn, repeated to us again. . . ."[12]

Penn's way of purchasing land from the Indians was not original with him. It had already been done in other colonies; however, it was the honesty and friendliness with which it was done that made all of the difference. "Penn came without arms; he declared his intention to abstain from violence . . ."[13]

> He sought in every possible way to hold friendly intercourse with them [Indians] and to inspire and cultivate mutual faith in treaties between the white men of the colony and the red men of the forest. When they came—Kings and Queens, painted and feathered, with their wild retinue,—he would receive them in an audience hall built for the purpose; where, enthroned in his oak chair, he used gracefully to give them audience, listen to what they had to say, use such simple arguments as he thought would convince them, and thus bring them to binding agreements. Sometimes he returned their visits. An Indian feast near a spring of water was held under a canopy of far-spreading trees, and there the Governor came by invitation. Bucks were killed, cakes were made and cooked, wheat and beans and fruit were offered. The repast over, the Indians began to dance, and white men, in the same kindly mood but in other ways, expressed joyful sympathy. Numerous treaties were ratified with simple ceremonies by the Susquehannah and other tribes,—treaties, as it is often remarked, which proved more binding than proud European ones, signed and guarded by elaborate formalities.[14]

[12] Proud, I, 211-215.
[13] Bancroft, II, 383.
[14] Stoughton, 308.

Penn showed the sincerity of his interest in the Indians in many ways. Not only did he grant them camping grounds within the city for visiting Indians, and financial aid for the needy, but also made provision for a fair trial by a jury composed equally of white men and Indians. The following agreement between Penn and his purchasers was dated July 11, 1681:

> . . . That no man shall by any ways or means in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indians, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter, and if any Indian shall abuse in word or deed any planter of this Province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the Province or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall to the utmost of his power, take care with the King of the said Indian; that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.
>
> That all differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by twelve men, that is by six planters and six natives, that so we may live friendly together, and as much as in us lieth, prevent all occasions of heart burnings and mischiefs.
>
> That the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to the improvement of the ground and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy . . .[15]

Land was purchased by Penn, from the Indians, before he arrived; William Markham, his agent, bought a tract of land from a number of Delaware Chiefs. A second purchase was a tract of land between the Neshaminy Creek and the Pennypack Creek. Many purchases were subsequently made and to avoid misunderstanding, when new purchases were made, the treaties, or agreements of purchase, were usually worded to include former purchases. It would seem that by 1784 the Six Nations had sold all remaining Indian land in Pennsylvania and by that time the Delaware Indians had also given up their claim to this land.

The record of a land sale between William Penn and the Indians, which here follows, is typical of the business-like method that was always followed by the Founder in his transactions with the Indians. Clearly stated were the terms of sale and purchase. It is noticeable

[15] William Penn, *Certain Conditions or Concessions.*

that all of the articles that were enumerated for trade, were valuable for the everyday needs of the Indians. The deed, dated July 15, 1682, and signed by the Indian Chiefs present, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

> This indenture made the fifteenth day of July in the year of the Lord according to English acount one thousand six hundred and eighty two, between Idquahon, Janottowe, Idquoqueywon Sahoppe, for himself, and Okonickon, Merkekowen, Oreckton, for Nannacussey Shaurwaughon, Swanpisse, Nahoosey, Tomackhickon, Westkekitt and Tohawsiz Indian sachamakers of the one part, and William Penn Esquire, Chief Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania of the other part. Witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sums and particulars of goods, merchandises and utensils herein after mentioned and expressed (that is to say), three hundred and fifty fathams of wampum, twenty white blankets, twenty fathams of stroud waters, sixty fatham of duffields, twenty kettles, (four whereof large) twenty guns, twenty coats, forty shirts, forty pairs of stockings, forty hoes, forty axes, two barrels of powder, two hundred bars of lead, two hundred knives, two hundred small glasses, twelve pairs of shoes, forty copper boxes, forty tobacco tongs, two small barrels of pipes, forty pairs of scissors, forty combs, twenty four pounds of red lead, one hundred awls, two handfuls of fish hooks, two handfuls of needles, forty pounds of shot, ten bundles of beads, ten small saws, twelve drawing knives, four anchors of tobacco, two anchors of rum, two anchors of cider, two anchors of beer, and three hundred gilders, by the said William Penn his agents or assignes to the said Indian sachamakers for the use of them and their people at and before sealing and delivery hereof in hand, paid and delivered whereof and wherewith they, the said Indian sachamakers, do hereby acknowledge themselves fully satisfied, contented and paid. The said Indian sachamakers (parties to these present) as well for and on the behalf of themselves, as for and on the behalf of their respective Indians or people for whom they are concerned, have granted, bargained, sold and delivered, and by these presents do fully, clearly and absulutely, grant, bargain, sell and deliver unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assignes forever all that or those tract or tracts of land, lying and being in the province of Pennsylvania aforesaid, beginning at a certain white oak in the land now in the tenure of John Wood and by him called the Gray Stones over against the falls of Delaware River and so from thence up by the river side to a corner marked Spruce Tree with the letter P at the foot of a mountain, and from the said corner marked Spruce

> Tree along by the ledge or foot of the mountains west-north west to a corner white oak marked with the letter P standing by the Indian path that leads to an Indian town called Playwicky and near the head of a creek called Towsissink, and from thence westward to the creek called Neshamony Creek. And along by the said Neshamony Creek unto the River Delaware alies Makerick Kitton and so bounded by the said main river to the said first mentioned white oak in John Woods land, and all those islands called or known by the several name of Matimicunck Island, Sapassincks Island, and Orecktons Island, lying or being in the said River Delaware, together also with all and singular isles, islands, rivers, rivulets, creeks, waters, ponds, lakes, plains, hills, mountains, meadows, purtenances whatsoever to the said tract or tracts of land, marshes, swamps, trees, woods, mines, minerals and apurtenances whatsoever to the said tract or tracts, of land belonging or in anywise appertaining . . .

INDIANS AS BROTHERS

That Penn was sincerely interested in the welfare of the Indians is shown in the contents of a letter forwarded by him to his Commissioners who were in Pennsylvania, prior to his coming. The letter dated September 30, 1681 read thus:

> . . . Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest spies, if you can hear that anybody inveighs the Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those that will inform you but, to soften them to me and the people, let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions with my purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their tongue, that they may see, we have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest, and after reading my letter, and the said conditions, then present their Kings with what I send them, and make a friendship and league with them according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with you; be grave, they love not to be smiled on.
>
> . . . From time to time in my name and for my use buy land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one anothers, if you be not careful, that so much as buy and come after these adventurers may have land ready but by no means sell any land till I come.[16]

[16] *Instructions Given by Me, William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.* Contained in the *Penn Manuscripts, Miscellaneous Collection,* Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Another of the Founder's preparatory letters to the Indians of Pennsylvania presents an interesting study in courtesy toward a native chief whom he addressed as the Emperor of Canada. This letter was to be delivered to the principal chief of those Indians who resided along the northern frontier of the Province. Dated June 21, 1682, it was sent by Penn to the Free Society of Traders, who then sent it by special messenger to the Indian Chief:

> The great God that made thee and me, and all the world, incline our hearts to love peace and justice, that we may live friendly together, as becomes the workmanship of the great God. The King of England, who is a great prince, hath, for divers reasons, granted to me a large country in America, which, however, I am willing to enjoy upon friendly terms with thee; and this I will say, that the people who come with me are a just, plain, and honest people that neither make war upon others, nor fear war from others, because they will be just. I have set up a society of traders in my province to traffic with thee and thy people for your commodities that you may be furnished with that which is good, at reasonable rates; and that society hath ordered their president to treat with thee about a future trade and have joined with me to send this messenger to thee with certain presents from us to testify our willingness to have a fair correspondence with thee, and that this agent shall do in our names, we will agree unto. I hope thou wilt kindly receive him, and comply with his desires on our behalf, both with respect to land and trade. The great God be with thee. Amen.
>
> WILLIAM PENN[17]

That the natives esteemed William Penn highly is seen in the following communication from the Pennsylvania Indians written in October 1701, to the King of England. This letter in commendation of William Penn, was written for the Indians by James Logan. It bears the marks and names of six Indian chiefs and five other witnesses.

> We the Kings and Sachems of the Ancient Nations of the Saswuehannah and Shavanah Indians, understanding that our loving and good friend and brother, William Penn, is to our great grief and the trouble of all the Indians of these parts, obliged to go back for England to speak with the great King and his Sachems about his government, can do no less than acknowledge that he has been not only always just but very kind to us as well as our ancient Kings and Sachems deceased,

[17] *Memoirs, HSP,* VI, 253.

and careful to keep a good correspondence with us, not suffering us to receive any wrong from any of the people under his government, giving us, as is well known, his house for our home at all times and freely entertaining us at his own cost and often filling us with many presents of necessary goods for our clothing and other accommodations, besides what he has paid us for our lands, which no Governor, ever did before him, and we hope and desire that the great King of the English will be good and kind to him and his children, and grant that they may always govern these parts, and then we shall have confidence, that we and our children and people will be well used and be encouraged to continue to live among the Christians according to the agreement that he and we have solemnly made for us and our posterity as long as the sun and moon shall endure, one head one mouth and one heart. We could say much more of his good council and instructions, which he has often given us and our people to live a sober and virtuous life as the best way to please the great God and be happy here and for ever. But let this suffice to the great King and his wise Sachems in love to our good friend and brother, William Penn.

Delivered to the Governor
in Presence of us Witnesses

The signatures of:

Edwd. Shippen	Connodaghtoh X his mark
Caleb Pusey	Wopechthah X
Antho. Morris	Orettyagh X
Joseph Kirkbride	Tegoamaghsaw X
Saml Drake	Shouwydagher H Harry
	Moyonthguagh X [18]

their marks

It would have been politic for Penn, in any case, to have treated the Indians with mercy and justice; but holding the Quaker idea of all men as fellow-sons of God, he could not have treated them otherwise. His treatment of them has won universal and lasting approval, and he exhibited, in his Indian policy, honesty and justice far in advance of his time. That he might be better fitted to deal with them he made it his business to understand the Indian language so, "that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion."[19]

[18] *The Indian Kings' Address to the King [of England] and Parliament,* contained in the *Penn Manuscripts, Forbes Collection,* Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[19] *Old South Leaflets,* VII, No. 171, 381-387.

> Penn bought land from the Indians on the apparent assumption that the land was theirs to sell. He recognized the right of the natives to set their own prices for the soil . . . He determined to negotiate with them for the land he needed. This policy, of course, was neither original with Penn, nor exclusively practiced by him; it was common among early English and Dutch colonizers.[20]

When the Indians in Pennsylvania heard of the death of William Penn, their friend Onas, they sent to his widow a message of sympathy, accompanied by a gift which, it appears, consisted of "materials to form a garment of skins, suitable for travelling through a thorny wilderness." This expression of sympathy, no doubt, was intended to symbolize the difficulties that would lie in her path since she was without the beneficent guidance of her husband.[21]

[20] Beatty, Edward Corbyn Obert, *William Penn as Social Philosopher,* 275.
[21] Janney, 533.

VI

WILLIAM PENN AND THE MODERN WORLD

William Penn's concept of freedom enabled him to strive to liberate, develop, and ennoble the people. He believed in the right of property as the keystone of order and liberty, but he believed also in the trusteeship of wealth and the responsible use of it for the general good. His highest ideal of citizenship was that of service. There was no doubt in Penn's mind that it was of national importance to maintain freedom of conscience. He believed that freedom of conscience, as applied to religious worship, would result in both political and economic advantages. Penn's belief in God had taught him to believe in man.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Penn's ideas on social justice are of great significance today. Perhaps one of the best reasons for the Tercentenary Commemoration of William Penn, is to bring to the attention of a war-torn world his ideas for world peace, so that when, in due time, peace is made, the makers thereof will take cognizance of its possible efficacy. His *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* is an interesting approach to the problem of world organization.

Penn was a nationalist, in the true sense of the word, as he was in his advocacy of religious and political liberty. He thought in terms of a general international organization of sovereign states; not of a world federation. He was among the first to conceive and formulate a plan for world peace. The principles that had been earlier embodied in the *Frames of Government for Pennsylvania* were applied, to a wider sphere in his *Essay.* This, the fruit of a period of retirement and reflection, was first published in 1693, and is probably the most important contribution ever made by a Quaker, or perhaps by any person, to the literature of that subject. The central ideas in his *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* which was written over two hundred and fifty years ago, are being actively discussed today.

BASIS FOR PEACE

Penn's hope for peace was based on moral grounds rather than on organization and machinery alone. He was not content with showing that war was evil and peace could be maintained. He believed that peace required justice between and within nations; and justice required government, which should be "that of consent, for that binds freely, (as I may say), when men hold their liberty by true obedience to rules of their own making."

A simple form of government for the world, was proposed by Penn; he called it a "general diet, estates or parliament," of which all states should be members. *Disputes that could not be settled by direct negotiation,* planned Penn, should be brought to the *parliament for settlement,* and the states would have to abide by its decision; by compulsion of the combined strength of the other member states, if necessary.

All war was caused by three things, Penn said. He named them as: Defense of a nation's possessions, recovery of possessions wrongfully taken away, or acquisition of new possessions. Penn believed that the third cause, aggression, was relatively are, and could be restrained more readily by the combined strength of the non-aggressors, than by their individual efforts. Again the other two causes of war could be curbed more effectively in the organization, than by war.

The world parliament would include all civilized nations and it appeared that Penn wanted former or present enemies included among the subjects of world authority that he proposed. Representation would be on the basis of national income. Full debate, secret ballot, and decisions by a three-fourths majority are the procedures proposed. Some of the problems that Penn solved and dismissed were: safeguards against the bribery of delegates, falsification of records, and quarrels over precedence.

Among the powers that Penn ascribed to the world parliament, were legislative, judicial, and executive functions. Although the three functions were mentioned, there was no provision made for the distribution of them among separate nations. However, Penn realized that the central problem was *the elimination of war in international relations.* That, today, remains the central problem. The solution of this, Penn said, was to provide means for solving the problems that led to war, and to restrain any nation that resorted to other than peaceful methods.

The most serious objection, Penn realized, was the objection that continues to remain uppermost; dislike of the restriction of national sovereignty. But he stated, that in domestic matters, the relations between the government and the people would be unchanged by world organization, and that internationally, states would gain instead of lose sovereignty for "each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them." This is not unlike Secretary of State Cordell Hull's "practical and purposeful cooperation for purposes of safeguarding peace. Participation by all nations in such measures would be for each its contribution toward its own future security and safety from outside attack." [1]

In view of the importance of international peace it is worthwhile to present Penn's *Essay* in full:

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE, BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DIET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES

TO THE READER,—I have undertaken a subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency than I am master of to treat it as, in truth, it deserves and the groaning state of Europe calls for; but since bunglers may stumble upon the game as well as masters, though it belongs to the skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this essay will not be charged upon me for a fault if it appear to be neither chimerical nor injurious, and may provoke abler pens to improve and perform the design with better judgment and success. I will say no more in excuse of myself for this undertaking but that it is the fruit of my solicitous thoughts for the peace of Europe, and they must want charity as much as the world needs quiet to be offended with me for so pacific a proposal. Let them censure my management, so they prosecute the advantage of the design; for until the millenary doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an expedient to the peace and happiness of this quarter of the world.

I. Of Peace and Its Advantages

He must not be a man but a statue of brass or stone whose bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody tragedies of this war, in Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland, and at sea, the mortality of sickly and languishing camps and navies, and the mighty prey the devouring winds and waves have made upon ships and men since '88. And as this with reason ought to affect human nature, and deeply kindred, so there is something very moving that becomes prudent men to con-

[1] For the material contained in the discussion of *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe,* acknowledgment is hereby made to Richard R. Wood, Executive Secretary of Friends' Peace Committee, Philadelphia.

sider, and that is the vast charge that has accompanied that blood, and which makes no mean part of these tragedies; especially if they deliberate upon the uncertainty of the war, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the expense cannot be less, and the hazard is as great as before. So that in the contraries of peace we see the beauties and benefits of it; which under it, such is the unhappiness of mankind, we are too apt to nauseate, as the full stomach loathes the honeycomb; and like that unfortunate gentleman, that having a fine and a good woman to his wife, and searching his pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable company, said, when reproached with his neglect of better enjoyments, that he could love his wife of all women if she were not his wife, though that increased his obligation to prefer her. It is a great mark of the corruption of our natures, and what ought to humble us extremely, and excite the exercise of our reason to a nobler and juster sense, that we cannot see the use and pleasure of our comforts but by the want of them. As if we could not taste the benefit of health but by the help of sickness; nor understand the satisfaction of fulness without the instruction of want; nor, finally, know the comfort of peace but by the smart and penance of the vices of war: and without dispute that is not the least reason that God is pleased to chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better than peace but the grace to use it? Peace preserves our possessions; we are in no danger of invasions: our trade is free and safe, and we rise and lie down without anxiety. The rich bring out their hoards, and employ the poor manufacturers; buildings and divers projections for profit and pleasure go on: it excites industry, which brings wealth, as that gives the means of charity and hospitality, not the lowest ornaments of a kingdom or commonwealth. But war, like the frost of '83, seizes all these comforts at once, and stops the civil channel of society. The rich draw in their stock, the poor turn soldiers, or thieves, or starve: no industry, no building, no manufactory, little hospitality or charity; but what the peace gave, the war devours. I need say no more upon this head, when the advantages of peace, and mischiefs of war, are so many and sensible to every capacity under all governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next point. What is the best means of peace? which will conduce much to open my way to what I have to propose.

II. Of the Means of Peace, Which Is Justice Rather Than War

As justice is a preserver, so it is a better procurer of peace than war. Though *Pax quaeritur bello* be a usual saying, *Peace is the end of war,* and as such it was taken up by O. C. for his motto; yet the use generally made of that expression shows us that, properly and truly speaking, men seek their wills by war rather than peace, and that as they will violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to

think of peace unless their appetites be some way gratified. If we look over the stories of all times, we shall find the aggressors generally moved by ambition; the pride of conquest and greatness of dominion more than right. But as those leviathans appear rarely in the world, so I shall anon endeavour to make it evident they had never been able to devour the peace of the world, and engross whole countries as they have done, if the proposal I have to make for the benefit of our present age had been then in practice. The advantage that justice has upon war is seen by the success of embassies, that so often prevent war by hearing the pleas and memorials of justice in the hands and mouths of the wronged party. Perhaps it may be in a good degree owing to reputation or poverty, or some particular interest or conveniency of princes and states, as much as justice; but it is certain that, as war cannot in any sense be justified, but upon wrongs received and right, upon complaint refused; so the generality of wars have their rise from some such pretension. This is better seen and understood at home; for that which prevents a civil war in a nation is that which may prevent it abroad, viz. justice; and we see where that is notably obstructed, war is kindled between the magistrates and people in particular kingdoms and states; which, however it may be unlawful on the side of the people, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same caution to princes as if it were the right of the people to do it: Though I must needs say the remedy is almost ever worse than the disease: the aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: and the blood and poverty that usually attend the enterprise weigh more on earth, as well as in heaven, than what they lost or suffered, or what they get by endeavouring to mend their condition, comes to: which disappointment seems to be the voice of heaven and judgment of God against those violent attempts. But to return, I say, justice is the means of peace, betwixt the government and the people, and one man and company and another. It prevents strife, and at last ends it: for besides shame or fear, to contend longer, he or they being under government, are constrained to bound their desires and resentment with the satisfaction the law gives. Thus peace is maintained by justice, which is a fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent.

III. Government, Its Rise and End Under All Models

Government is an expedient against confusion; a restraint upon all disorder; just weights and an even balance: that one may not injure another, nor himself by intemperance.

This was at first without controversy patrimonial, and upon the death of the father or head of the family the eldest son or male of kin succeeded. But time breaking in upon this way of governing, as the world multiplied, it fell under other claims and forms; and is as hard to trace

to its original as are the copies we have of the first writings of sacred or civil matters. It is certain the most natural and human is that of consent, for that binds freely (as I may say), when men hold their liberty by true obedience to rules of their own making. No man is judge in his own cause, which ends the confusion and blood of so many judges and executioners. For out of society every man is his own king, does what he lists at his own peril: but when he comes to incorporate himself, he submits that royalty to the conveniency of the whole, from whom he receives the returns of protection. So that he is not now his own judge nor avenger, neither is his antagonist, but the law, in indifferent hands between both. And if he be servant to others that before was free, he is also served of others that formerly owed him no obligation. Thus while we are not our own, every body is ours, and we get more than we lose, the safety of the society being the safety of the particulars that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from society, it is by society that we keep what we have.

Government then is the prevention or cure of disorder, and the means of justice, as that is of peace: for this cause they have sessions, terms, assizes, and parliaments, to overrule men's passions and resentments, that they may not be judges in their own cause, nor punishers of their own wrongs, which, as it is very incident to men in their corrupt state, so, for that reason, they would observe no measure; nor on the other hand would any be easily reduced to their duty. Not that men know not what is right, their excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no means; nothing is plainer to them; but so depraved is human nature that, without compulsion some way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are satisfied they should not do. Which brings me near to the point I have undertaken, and for the better understanding of which I have thus briefly treated of peace, justice, and government, as a necessary introduction, because the ways and methods by which peace is preserved in particular governments will help those readers most concerned in my proposal to conceive with what ease as well as advantage the peace of Europe might be procured and kept; which is the end designed by me, with all submission to those interested in this little treatise.

IV. Of a General Peace, or the Peace of Europe, and the Means of It

In my first section, I showed the desirableness of peace; in my next, the truest means of it; to wit, justice not war. And in my last, that this justice was the fruit of government, as government itself was the result of society which first came from a reasonable design in men of peace. Now if the sovereign princes of Europe, who represent that society, or independent state of men that was previous to the

obligations of society, would, for the same reason that engaged men first into society, viz. love of peace and order, agree to meet by their stated deputies in a general diet, estates, or parliament, and there establish rules of justice for sovereign princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet yearly, or once in two or three years at farthest, or as they shall see cause, and to be styled, the Sovereign or Imperial Diet, Parliament or State of Europe; before which sovereign assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies before the sessions begin; and that if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixed in their resolutions, all the other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission. To be sure, Europe would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed peace to her harassed inhabitants; no sovereignty in Europe having the power and therefore cannot show the will to dispute the conclusion; and, consequently, peace would be procured and continued in Europe.

V. Of the Causes of Difference, and Motives to Violate Peace

There appears to me but three things upon which peace is broken, viz. to keep, to recover, or to add. First, to keep what is one's right from the invasion of an enemy; in which I am purely defensive. Secondly, to recover, when I think myself strong enough, that which by violence I or my ancestors have lost by the arms of a stronger power; in which I am offensive. Or, lastly, to increase my dominion by the acquisition of my neighbour's countries, as I find them weak and myself strong. To gratify which passion there will never want some accident or other for a pretence: and knowing my own strength, I will be my own judge and carver. This last will find no room in the imperial states: they are an unpassable limit to that ambition. But the other two may come as soon as they please and find the justice of the sovereign court. And considering how few there are of those sons of prey, and how early they show themselves, it may be not once in an age or two, this expedition being established, the balance cannot well be broken.

VI. Of Titles, Upon Which Those Differences May Arise

But I easily foresee a question that may be answered in our way, and that is this: What is right? Or else we can never know what is wrong: It is very fit that this should be established. But that is fitter

for the sovereign states to resolve than me. And yet that I may lead a way to the matter, I say that title is either by a long and undoubted succession, as the crowns of Spain, France, and England; or by election, as the crown of Poland and the Empire; or by marriage, as the family of the Stewarts came by England; the elector of Bradenburg to the Duchy of Cleve: and we, in ancient time, to divers places abroad; or by purchase, as hath been frequently done in Italy and Germany; or by conquest, as the Turk in Christendom, the Spaniards in Flanders, formerly mostly in the French hands, and the French in Burgundy, Normandy, Lorraine, French-County, etc. This last title is, morally speaking, only questionable. It has indeed obtained a place among the rolls of titles, but it was engrossed and recorded by the point of the sword and in bloody characters. What cannot be controlled or resisted must be submitted to; but all the world knows the date of the length of such empires, and that they expire with the power of the possessor to defend them. And yet there is a little allowed to conquest too, when it has the sanction of articles of peace to confirm it: though that hath not always extinguished the fire, but it lies, like embers and ashes, ready to kindle so soon as there is fit matter prepared for it. Nevertheless, when conquest has been confirmed by a treaty, and conclusion of peace, I must confess it is an adopted title; and if not so genuine and natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the security of better titles, consent. There is but one thing more to be mentioned in this section, and that is from what time titles shall take their beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me to determine so tender a point, but be it more or less time, as to the last general peace at Nimeguen, or to the commencing of this war, or to the time of the beginning of the treaty of peace, I must submit it to the great pretenders and masters in that affair. But something everybody must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this establishment be forever freed of the necessity of losing more.

VII. Of the Composition of These Imperial States

The composition and proportion of this Sovereign Part, or Imperial State, does, at the first look, seem to carry with it no small difficulty what votes to allow for the inequality of the princes and states. But with submission to better judgments, I cannot think it invincible; for if it be possible to have an estimate of the yearly value of the several sovereign countries, whose delegates are to make up this august assembly, the determination of the number of persons or votes in the states for every sovereignty will not be impracticable. Now that England, France, Spain, the Empire, etc., may be pretty exactly estimated is so plain a case, by considering the revenue of lands, the exports and entries at the custom houses, the books of rates, and surveys that are in all governments, to proportion taxes for the support of them, that

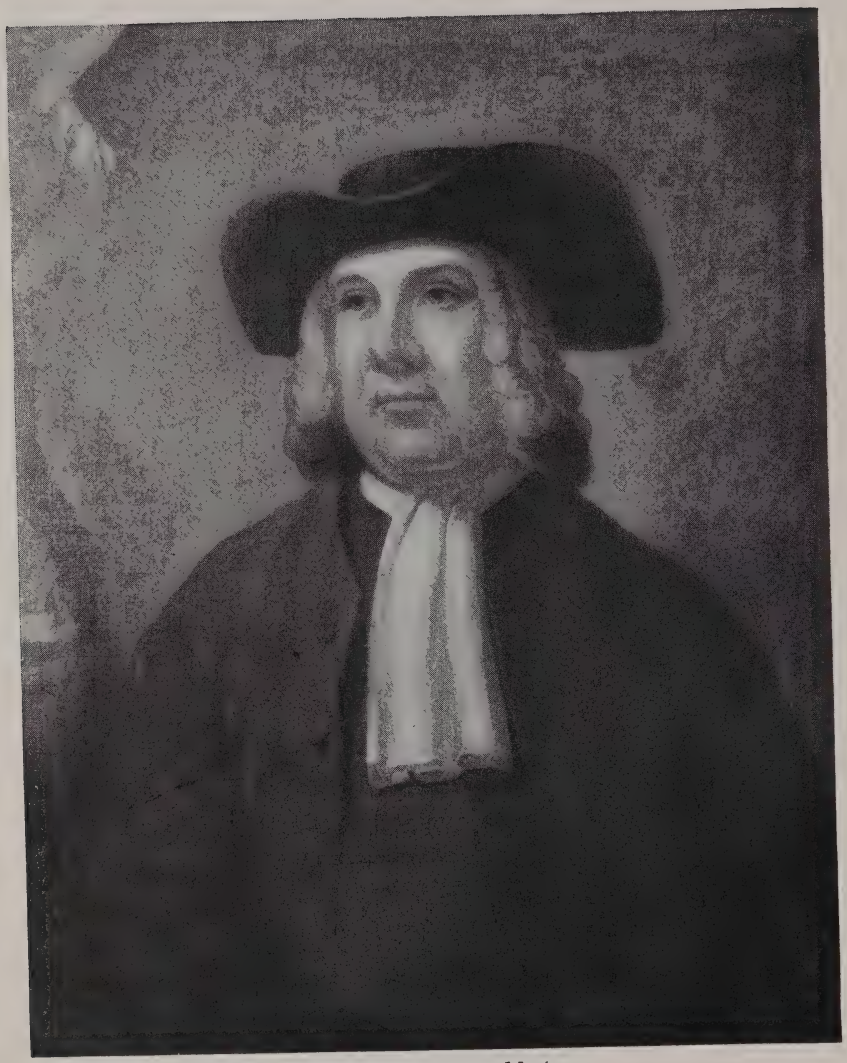
the least inclination to the peace of Europe will not stand or halt at this objection. I will, with pardon on all sides, give an instance far from exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an estimate; for I do it at random: only this, as wide as it is from the just proportion, will give some aim to my judicious reader, what I would be at: Remembering I design not by any computation an estimate from the revenue of the prince, but the value of the territory, the whole being concerned as well as the prince. And a juster measure it is to go by, since one prince may have more revenue than another, who has much a richer country: though in the instance I am now about to make, the caution is not so necessary, because, as I said before, I pretend to no manner of exactness, but go wholly by guess, being but for example's sake. I suppose the Empire of Germany to send twelve; France, ten; Spain, ten; Italy, which comes to France, eight; England, six; Portugal, three; Sweedland, four; Denmark, three; Poland, four; Venice, three; the seven provinces, four; the thirteen cantons and little neighbouring sovereignties, two; dukedoms of Holstein and Courland, one; and if the Turks and Muscovites are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make ten apiece more. The whole makes ninety. A great presence when they represent the fourth, and now the best and wealthiest part of the known world; where religion and learning, civility and arts have their seat and empire. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many persons to represent the larger sovereignties; for the votes may be given by one man of any sovereignty as well as by ten or twelve: though the fuller the assembly of states is, the more solemn, effectual, and free the debates will be, and the resolutions must needs come with greater authority. The place of their first session should be central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

VIII. Of the Regulations of the Imperial States in Session

To avoid quarrel for precedency, the room may be round, and have divers doors to come in and go out at, to prevent exceptions. If the whole number be cast in tens, each choosing one, they may preside by turns, to whom all speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the sense of the debates, and state the question for a vote, which, in my opinion, should be the ballot after the prudent and commendable method of the Venetians; which, in a great degree, prevents the ill effects of corruption; because if any of the delegates of that high and mighty Estates could be so vile, false, and dishonourable as to be influenced by money, they have the advantage of taking their money that will give it them and of voting undiscovered to the interest of their principles and their own inclinations; as they that do understand the balloting box do very well know. A shrewd stratagem and an experimental remedy against corruption, at least cor-

William Penn in Old Age

Based on a post-mortem ivory bust by Sylvanus Bevan by permission from drawing by Edward P. Buyck in *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* by Arthur Pound.

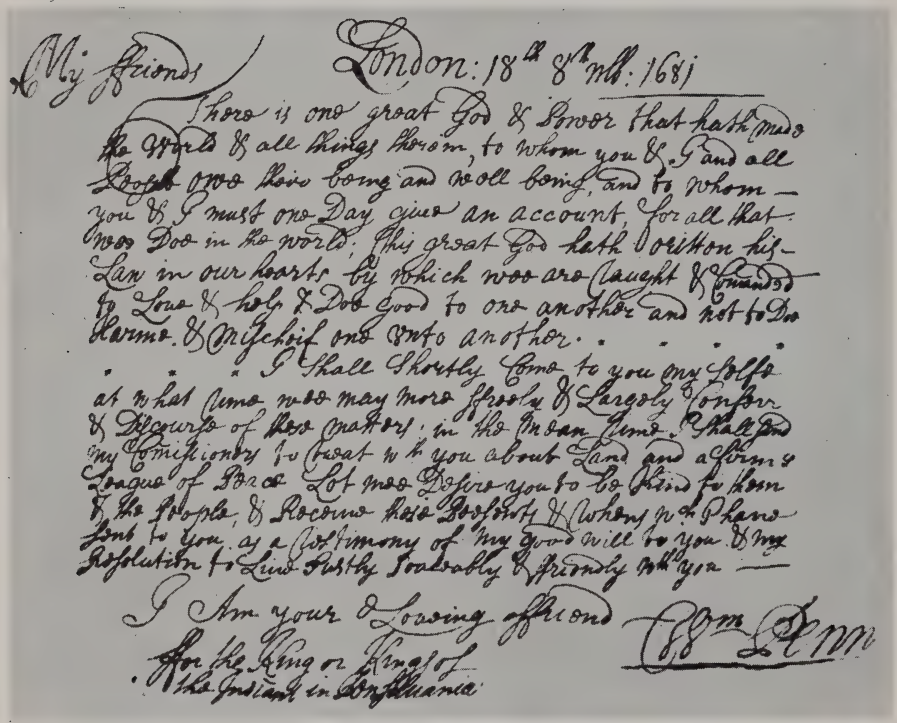


William Penn in Old Age

Unauthenticated portrait in oil in possession of Morris L. Clothier, Philadelphia.

Jordan's Friends' Meeting House, Built in 1668, *with William Penn's Grave in the Foreground, Buckinghamshire, England*

From a painting by Hazelhurst in Germantown Friends' School, Philadelphia.


My friend London: 18th 8th mth: 1681

There is one great God & Power that hath made the World & all things therein, to whom you & I & all People owe their being and well being, and to whom you & I must one Day give an account, for all that wee Doe in the world. This great God hath written his Law in our hearts, by which wee are taught & commanded to Love & help & Doe Good to one another and not to Doe harme & Mischief one unto another. . . . . .

. . . I Shall Shortly Come to you my Selfe at what time wee may more fully & Largely Confer & Discourse of these matters; in the Indian Time. I shall put my Commissioners to treat w^th you about Land and a firm & League of Peace Let mee Desire you to be Kind to them & the People, & Receive their Present & when you Please send to you, as a Testimony of my Good will to you & my Resolution to Live Justly Soberly & Friendly with you —

I Am your Loveing friend Wm Penn

For the King or King of the Indians in Pensylvania

A Facsimile of a Letter

In the Ferdinand J. Dreer collection, *Penn Letters,* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

London: 18th 8th Mth, 1681

My Friends

There is one great God and Power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all People owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one Day give an account, for all that we Doe in the world; this great God hath written his Law in our hearts by which wee are taught and commanded to Love and help and Doe good to one another and not to Doe Harm and Mischeif one unto another * * * * *

I shall shortly come to you myself at what time wee may more ffreely and Largely Confer and Discourse of these matters: in the mean time I shall send my Commissioners to treat with you about Land and afirm a League of Peace: Let me Desire you to be kind to them and the People, and Receive those presents and tokens which I have sent to you as a Testimony of my good will to you and my resolution to to live justly, peaceably, and ffriendly with you.

I Am your Loving ffriend

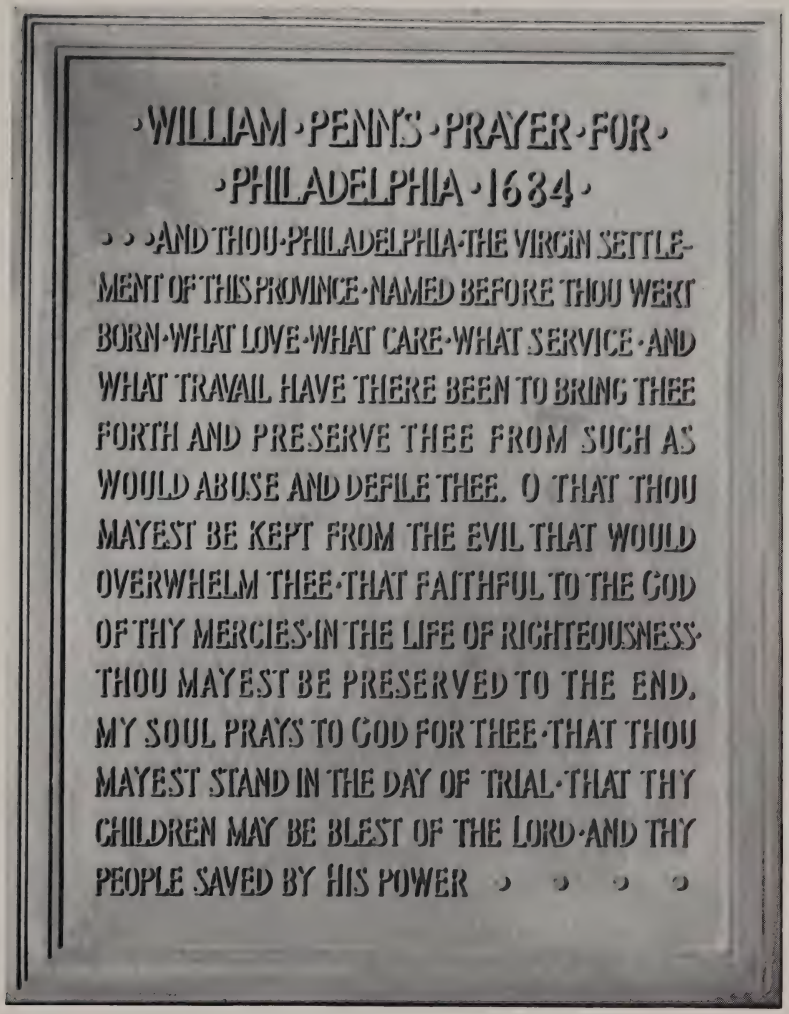
Wm Penn

ffor the King or Kings of the Indians in Pennsylvania

Philadelphia About the Time of Penn's Death

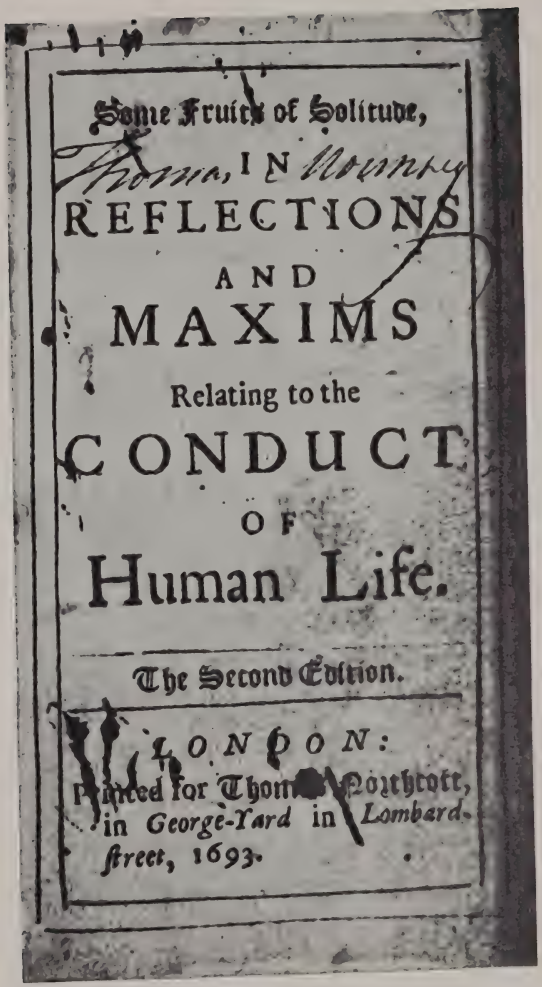
From the painting by Peter Cooper (enrolled as a freeman of Philadelphia in 1717) in possession of the Ridgway Branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

Panoramic View of Central Philadelphia Today
Showing the statue of William Penn on the top of City Hall Tower.


·WILLIAM·PENN'S·PRAYER·FOR·
·PHILADELPHIA·1684·
· · ·AND THOU·PHILADELPHIA·THE VIRGIN SETTLE-
MENT OF THIS PROVINCE·NAMED BEFORE THOU WERT
BORN·WHAT LOVE·WHAT CARE·WHAT SERVICE·AND
WHAT TRAVAIL HAVE THERE BEEN TO BRING THEE
FORTH AND PRESERVE THEE FROM SUCH AS
WOULD ABUSE AND DEFILE THEE. O THAT THOU
MAYEST BE KEPT FROM THE EVIL THAT WOULD
OVERWHELM THEE·THAT FAITHFUL TO THE GOD
OF THY MERCIES·IN THE LIFE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS·
THOU MAYEST BE PRESERVED TO THE END.
MY SOUL PRAYS TO GOD FOR THEE·THAT THOU
MAYEST STAND IN THE DAY OF TRIAL·THAT THY
CHILDREN MAY BE BLEST OF THE LORD·AND THY
PEOPLE SAVED BY HIS POWER · · · ·

William Penn's Prayer for Philadelphia, Written as a Farewell Message Just Before He Sailed for England at His Second and Last Visit to Pennsylvania

Bronze tablet in the north transcept of the City Hall, Philadelphia, erected through the generosity of the late Joshua L. Baily.



Some Fruits of Solitude,

IN

REFLECTIONS

AND

MAXIMS

Relating to the

CONDUCT

OF

Human Life.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for Thomas Northcott, in George-Yard in Lombard-street, 1693.

Title Page of William Penn's 'Fruits of Solitude'
From a second edition in the Library of Haverford College.

rupting: for who will give their money where they may so easily be cozened, and where it is two to one they will be so; for they that will take money in such cases will not stick to lie heartily to them that give it, rather than wrong their country, when they know their lie cannot be detected.

It seems to me that nothing in this Imperial Parliament should pass but by three quarters of the whole, at least seven above the balance. I am sure it helps to prevent treachery, because if money could ever be a temptation in such a court, it would cost a great deal of money to weigh down the wrong scale. All complaints should be delivered in writing in the nature of memorials and journals kept by a proper person, in a trunk or chest, which should have as many differing locks as there are tens in the states. And if there were a clerk for each ten, and a pew or table for those clerks in the assembly; and at the end of every session one out of each ten were appointed to examine and compare the journals of those clerks, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and satisfactory. And each sovereignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an exemplification, or copy of the said memorials, and the journals of proceedings upon them. The liberty and rules of speech, to be sure, they cannot fail in, who will be wisest and noblest of each sovereignty, for its own honour and safety. If any difference can arise between those that come from the same sovereignty that then one of the major number do give the balls of that sovereignty. I should think it extremely necessary that every sovereignty should be present under great penalties, and that none leave the session without leave, till all be finished; and that neutralities in debates should by no means be endured: for any such latitude will quickly open a way to unfair proceedings, and be followed by a train, both of seen and unseen inconveniences. I will say little of the language in which the session of the Sovereign Estates should be held, but to be sure it must be in Latin or French; the first would be very well for civilians, but the last most easy for men of quality.

IX. Of the Objections That May Be Advanced Against the Design

I will first give an answer to the objections that may be offered against my proposal: and in my next and last section I shall endeavour to show some of the manifold conveniences that would follow this European league or confederacy.

The first of them is this, that the strongest and richest sovereignty will never agree to it, and if it should, there would be danger of corruption more than of force one time or other. I answer to the first part, he is not stronger than all the rest, and for that reason you should promote this and compel him into it; especially before he be so, for then it will be too late to deal with such a one. To the last part of the objection, I say the way is as open now as then; and it may

be the number fewer, and as easily come at. However, if men of sense and honour and substance are chosen, they will either scorn the baseness, or have wherewith to pay for the knavery; at least they may be watched so that one may be a check upon the other, and all prudently limited by the sovereignty they represent. In all great points, especially before a final resolve, they may be obliged to transmit to their principals the merits of such important cases depending, and receive their last instructions: which may be done in four and twenty days at the most, as the place of their session may be appointed.

The second is that it will endanger an effeminacy by such a disuse of the trade of soldiery; that if there should be any need for it, upon any occasion, we should be at a loss as they were in Holland in '72.

There can be no danger of effeminacy, because each sovereignty may introduce as temperate or severe a discipline in the education of youth as they please, by low living and due labour. Instruct them in mechanical knowledge and in natural philosophy by operation, which is the honour of the German nobility. This would make them men: neither women nor lions: for soldiers are the other extreme to effeminacy. But the knowledge of nature, and the useful as well as agreeable operations of art, give men an understanding of themselves, of the world they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others: and how to save and help, not injure and destroy. The knowledge of government in general; the particular constitutions of Europe; and above all of his own country, are very recommending accomplishments. This fits him for the parliament and council at home, and the courts of princes and services in the imperial states abroad. At least, he is a good commonwealth's man, and can be useful to the public or retire as there may be occasion.

To the other part of the objection, of being at a loss for soldiery as they were in Holland in '72. The proposal answers for it itself. One has war no more than the other; and will be as much to seek upon occasion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up such an army after such an empire is on foot, which may hazard the safety of the rest. However, if it be seen requisite, the question may be asked, by order of the sovereign states, why such a one either raises or keeps up a formidable body of troops, and be obliged forthwith to reform or reduce them; lest any one, by keeping up a great body of troops, should surprise a neighbour. But a small force in every other sovereignty, as it is capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that danger, and vanquish any such fear.

The third objection is, that there will be great want of employment for younger brothers of families; and that the poor must either turn soldiers or thieves. I have answered that in my return to the second objection. We shall have the more merchants and husbandmen, or ingenious naturalists, if the government be but anything solicitous of the education of their youth: which, next to the present and immediate happiness of any country, ought of all things to be the care and

skill of the government. For such as the youth of any country is bred, such is the next generation, and the government in good or bad hands.

I am come now to the last objection, that sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign: a thing they will never endure. But this also, under correction, is a mistake, for they remain as sovereign at home as ever they were. Neither their power over their people, nor the usual revenue they pay them, is diminished: it may be the war establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of course follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the public. So that the sovereignties are as they were, for none of them have now any sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their power, it must be only because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togae* is a glorious sentence; the voice of the dove; the olive branch of peace. A blessing so great, that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our sins, it is with the rod of war that for the most part He whips us: and experience tells us none leaves deeper marks behind it.

X. *Of the Real Benefits That Flow From This Proposal About Peace*

I am come to my last section, in which I shall enumerate some of those many *real benefits* that flow from this proposal for the present and future peace of Europe.

Let it not, I pray, be the least that it prevents the spilling of so much human and Christian blood. For a thing so offensive to God, and terrible and afflicting to me, as that has ever been, must recommend our expedient beyond all objections. For what can a man give in exchange for his life as well as soul? And though the chiefest in government are seldom personally exposed, yet it is a duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the lives of their people; since without all doubt, they are accountable to God for the blood that is spilt in their service. So that besides the loss of so many lives, of importance to any government, both for labour and propagation, the cries of so many widows, parents, and fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very pleasant in the ears of any government, and is the natural consequence of war in all government.

There is another *manifest benefit* which redounds to Christendom by this peaceable expedient, the reputation of Christianity will in some degree be recovered in the sight of infidels; which, by the many bloody and unjust wars of Christians, not only with them, but one with another, hath been greatly impaired. For, to the scandal of that holy profession, Christians, that glory in their Saviour's name, have long devoted the credit and dignity of it to their worldly passions, as often as they have been excited by the impulses of ambition or revenge. They have not always been in the right: nor has right been the reason

of war: and not only Christians against Christians, but the same sort of Christians have imbrued their hands in one another's blood; invoking and interesting all they could the good and merciful God to prosper their arms to their brethren's destruction; yet their Saviour has told them that He came to save, and not to destroy the lives of men: to give and plant peace among men: and if in any sense He may be said to send war, it is the holy war indeed; for it is to send against the devil, and not the persons of men. Of all His titles this seems the most glorious as well as comfortable for us, that He is the prince of peace. It is His nature, His office, His work, and the end and excellent blessings of His coming, Who is both the maker and preserver of our peace with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the New Testament He is but once called lion, but frequently the Lamb of God; to denote to us His gentle, meek, and harmless nature, and that those who desire to be the disciples of His cross and kingdom, for they are inseparable, must be like Him, as St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John tell us. Nor is it said the lamb shall lie down with the lion, but the lion shall lie down with the lamb. This is war that shall yield to peace, and the soldier turn hermit. To be sure, Christians should not be apt to strive, not swift to anger against anybody, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading enjoyments of this lower world: and no quality is exempted from this doctrine. Here is a wide field for the reverend clergy of Europe to act their part in, who have so much the possession of princes and people too. May they recommend and labour this pacific means I offer, which will end blood, if not strife; and then reason, upon free debate, will be judge, and not the sword. So that both right and peace, which are the desire and fruit of wise governments, and the choice blessings of any country, seem to succeed the establishment of this proposal.

The *third benefit* is that it saves money, both to the prince and people; and thereby prevents those grudgings and misunderstandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring expenses of war; and enables both to perform public acts for learning, charity, manufactures, etc. The virtues of government and ornaments of countries. Nor is this all the advantage that follows to sovereignties, upon this head of money and good husbandry, to whose service and happiness this short discourse is dedicated; for it saves the great expense that frequent and splendid embassies require, and all their appendages of spies and intelligence, which in the most prudent governments have devoured mighty sums of money; and that not without some immoral practices also: such as corrupting of servants to betray their masters, by revealing their secrets; not to be defended by Christian or old Roman virtues. But here where there is nothing to fear there is little to know, and therefore the purchase is either cheap, or may be wholly spared. I might mention pensions to the widows and orphans of such as die in wars, and of those that have been disabled in them; which rise high in the revenue of some countries.

Our *fourth advantage* is that the towns, cities and countries that might be laid waste by the rage of war are thereby preserved. A blessing that would be very well understood in Flanders and Hungary, and indeed upon all the borders of sovereignties, which are almost ever the stages of spoil and misery; of which the stories of England and Scotland do sufficiently inform us without looking over the water.

The *fifth benefit* of this peace is the ease and security of travel and traffic: a happiness never understood since the Roman Empire has been broken into so many sovereignties. But we may easily conceive the comfort and advantage of travelling through the governments of Europe by a pass from any of the sovereignties of it, which this league and state of peace will naturally make authentic. They that have travelled Germany, where is so great a number of sovereignties, know the want and value of this privilege, by the many stops and examinations they meet with by the way: but especially such as have made the great tour of Europe. This leads to the benefit of a universal monarchy, without the inconveniences that attend it: for when the whole was one empire, though these advantages were enjoyed, yet the several provinces, that now make the kingdoms and states of Europe, were under some hardship from the great sums of money remitted to the imperial seat, and the ambition and avarice of their several proconsuls and governors, and the great taxes they paid to the numerous legions of soldiers, that they maintained for their own subjection, who were not wont to entertain that concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their fortunes to make) which their respective and proper sovereigns have always shown for them. So that to be ruled by native princes or states, with the advantage of that peace and security that can only render a universal monarchy desirable, is peculiar to our proposal, and for that reason it is to be preferred.

Another advantage is the great security it will be to Christians against the inroads of the Turk, in their most prosperous fortune. For it had been impossible for the Porte to have prevailed so often, and so far from Christendom, but by the carelessness, or wilful connivance, if not aid, of some Christian princes. And for the same reason, why no Christian monarch will adventure to oppose or break such a union, the Grand Seignior will find himself obliged to concur, for the security of what he holds in Europe: where with all his strength he would feel it an over-match for him. The prayers, tears, treason, blood, and devastation that war has cost in Christendom, for these two last ages especially, must add to the credit of our proposal, and the blessing of the peace thereby humbly recommended.

The *seventh advantage* of a European Imperial Diet, Parliament, or Estates is that it will beget and increase personal friendship between princes and states, which tends to the rooting up of wars, and planting peace in a deep and fruitful soil. For princes have the curiosity of seeing the courts and cities of other countries, as well as private men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratify their inclinations. It

were a great motive to the tranquillity of the world that they could freely converse face to face, and personally and reciprocally give and receive marks of civility and kindness. A hospitality that leaves these impressions behind it will hardly let ordinary matters prevail to mistake or quarrel one another. Their emulation would be in the instances of goodness, laws, customs, learning, arts, buildings; and in particular those that relate to charity, the true glory of some governments, where beggars are as much a rarity as in other places it would be to see none.

Nor is this all the benefit that would come by this freedom and interview of princes. For natural affection would hereby be preserved, which we see little better than lost, from the time their children, or sisters, are married into other courts. For the present state of insincerity of princes forbid them the enjoyment of that natural comfort which is possessed by private families: insomuch that from the time a daughter or sister is married to another crown, nature is submitted to interest, and that, for the most part, grounded not upon solid or commendable foundations, but ambition or unjust avarice. I say this freedom that is the effect of our pacific proposal restores nature to her just right and dignity in the families of princes, and them to the comfort she brings, wherever she is preserved in her proper station. Here daughters may personally entreat their parents, and sisters, their brothers, for a good understanding between them and their husbands, where nature not crushed by absence and sinister interests, but acting by the sight and lively entreaties of such near relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate addresses of such powerful solicitors as their children and grandchildren, and their sisters, nephews, and nieces; and so backward from children to parents and sisters to brothers, to keep up and preserve their own families, by a good understanding between their husbands and them.

To conclude this section, there is yet *another manifest privilege* that follows this intercourse and good understanding, which methinks should be very moving with princes, viz. that hereby they may choose wives for themselves such as they love, and not by proxy merely to gratify interest; an ignoble motive; and that rarely begets or continues that kindness which ought to be between men and their wives. A satisfaction very few princes ever knew, and to which all other pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think that the advantage of private men upon princes, by family comforts, is a sufficient balance against their greater power and glory: the one being more in imagination than real; and often unlawful; but the other natural, solid, and commendable. Besides, it is certain, parents loving well before they are married, which very rarely happens to princes, has kind and generous influences upon their offspring: which with their example makes them better husbands and wives in their turn. This in great measure prevents unlawful love, and the mischiefs of those intrigues that are wont to follow them. What hatred, feuds, wars,

and desolations have in divers ages flown from unkindness between princes and their wives? What unnatural divisions among their children, and ruin to their families, if not loss of their countries by it? Behold an expedient to prevent it, a natural and efficacious one. Happy to princes and happy to their people also. For nature being renewed and strengthened by these mutual pledges and endearments I have mentioned will leave those soft and kind impressions behind in the minds of princes that court and country will very easily discern and feel the good effects of: especially if they have the wisdom to show that they interest themselves in the prosperity of the children and relations of their princes. For it does not only incline them to be good, but engage those relations to become powerful suitors to their princes for them if any misunderstanding should unhappily arise between them and their sovereigns. Thus ends this section. It now rests to conclude the discourse in which, if I have not pleased my reader or answered his expectation, it is some comfort to me I meant well, and have cost him but little money and time; and brevity is an excuse, if not a virtue, where the subject is not agreeable, or is but ill prosecuted.

The Conclusion

I will conclude this my proposal of a European Sovereign, or Imperial Diet, Parliament, or Estates with that which I have touched upon before, and which falls under the notice of everyone concerned, by coming home to their particular and respective experience within their own sovereignties. That by the same rules of justice and prudence by which parents and masters govern their families, and magistrates their cities, and estates their republics, and princes and kings their principalities and kingdoms, Europe may obtain and preserve peace among her sovereignties. For wars are the duels of princes; and as government in kingdoms and states prevents men being judges and executioners for themselves, over-rules private passions as to injuries or revenge and subjects the great as well as the small to the rule of justice that power might not vanquish or oppress right nor one neighbour act an independency and sovereignty upon another, while they have resigned that original claim to the benefit and comfort of society; so this being soberly weighed in the whole and parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute, the design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the idea I here present to the sovereign princes and estates of Europe for the safety and tranquillity of it, I must recommend to their perusals Sir William Temple's account of the United Provinces; which is an instance and answer upon practice to all the objections that can be advanced against the practicability of my proposal: nay, it is an experiment that not only comes to our case, but exceeds the difficulties that can render its accomplishment disputable. For there we shall find three degrees of sovereignties to make up every sovereignty in the general states. I will

reckon them backwards. First, the states general themselves: then the immediate sovereignties that constitute them, which are those of the provinces, answerable to the sovereignties of Europe, that by their deputies are to compose the European diet, parliament, or estates in our proposal; and then there are the several cities of each province that are so many independent or distinct sovereignties, which compose those of the provinces as those of the provinces do compose the states general at The Hague.

But I confess I have the passion to wish heartily that the honour of proposing and effecting so great and good a design might be owing to England, of all the countries in Europe, as something of the nature of our expedient was, in design and preparation, to the wisdom, justice, and valour of Henry the Fourth of France, whose superior qualities raising his character above those of his ancestors or contemporaries deservedly gave him the style of Henry the Great. For he was upon obliging the princes and estates of Europe to a political balance when the Spanish faction for that reason contrived and accomplished his murder by the hands of Ravilliac. I will not then fear to be censured for proposing an expedient for the present and future peace of Europe when it was not only the design but glory of one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in it; and is found practicable in the constitution of one of the wisest and powerfullest states of it. So that to conclude, I have very little to answer for in all this affair; because if it succeed I have so little to deserve. For this great king's example tells us it is fit to be done; and Sir William Temple's history shows us by a surpassing instance that it may be done; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, makes it now necessary to be done: that my share is only thinking of it at this juncture, and putting it into the common light for the peace and prosperity of Europe.[2]

REMOVING THE CAUSES OF WAR

The practice and preaching of the Quakers, on the subject of war, appears to be based on the words of George Fox, who wrote in his Journal:

> And daily trials and disputes had I with professors of all sorts: and so Worcester fight came on and my time being out of being committed six months to the house of Correction and then they filled the house of Correction with persons that they had taken up to be soldiers; and then they would have had me to be Captain of them to go forth to Worcester fight and the soldiers cried they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of Correction was commanded to bring me up before the Commissioners and soldiers in the

[2] Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in *International Conciliation;* also available in an edition by Esther Holmes Jones for the Peace and Service Committee, Friends' General Conference, Philadelphia.

> market place, and there they proferred me that preferment because of my virtue as they said, with many other compliments, and asked me if I would not take up arms for the commonwealth against the King. But I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars and I knew from whence all war did rise: from the lust according to James his doctrine.[3]

Historically speaking, William Penn was the most important Quaker among those who followed George Fox, and his attitude toward war was the common heritage of the sect to whose doctrines and tenets he subscribed. To him, repudiation of war was a necessary consequence of the doctrine of Christian charity. War would automatically cease when the cause of it was removed; if envy, hatred, malice and uncharitableness were no longer evident, man would not fight, because there would be nothing to fight about. His fairness to all and his sense of justice were outstanding, and his philosophy expressed itself in these words from *Some Fruits of Solitude:*

> We could hurt no man that we believe loves us. Let us then try what love will do, for if men do once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us. Force may subdue, but love gains; and he that forgives first, wins the laurel. If I am even with my enemy, the debt is paid; but if I forgive it, I oblige him forever. Love is the hardest lesson in Christianity, but for that reason it should be more our care to learn it. It is a severe rebuke upon us that God makes us so many allowances, and we make so few to our neighbor . . .[4]

THE COLONIZER AS PEACE MAKER

The same mind that produced a plan for the peace of Europe gave forth the *Frames of Government* for the American colony. The Province of Pennsylvania, so Penn dreamed, would afford an asylum for persecuted Quakers and other oppressed people of Europe. The Government of Pennsylvania, as Penn planned it, with suggestions from his friends, Algernon Sidney and John Locke, would be based on the principles of democracy; government would rest upon consent of the people and would be completely representative, and all forms of religion, consistent with monotheism and religious liberty, were

[3] *The Journal of George Fox, Edited from the mss. by Norman Penney, with an introduction by T. Edmund Harvey,* University Press, Cambridge, England, London, 1911, II, 11, 12.

[4] Penn, William, *Some Fruits of Solitude,* The Pocket Classics, Philadelphia, David McKay Company, 172.

to be tolerated in Pennsylvania. Penn believed that God was interested in good men, not in forms of government, and that if men sought to do God's will, they would evolve a good government. He wrote these words into one of his great instruments of government:

> There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good. . . . Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn . . .[5]

During the first years of Pennsylvania history, when the government of the Province was administered on the Christian principles of the preservation of peace, which consisted of doing justice and using patience and forbearance, there were no garrisons, forts, soldiers or muskets to be seen within all of the boundaries. None were needed. The Indians were aware of this and, they too, mixed with the inhabitants, carrying neither bows, arrows, nor tomahawks. All implements of war were laid aside in perfect confidence that neither the natives nor the settlers would harm each other.

Pennsylvania soon became a colony to excite the admiration of the whole world. Without war, conquest, revolution or struggle, Penn had accomplished a model settlement. The natives were won by the love and tact of the Quaker proprietor, and everywhere began to pay tribute to his methods. A Catholic essayist speaks of Penn in these words:

> William Penn, the great legislator of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, had the success of a conqueror, in establishing and defending his colony among savage tribes without drawing a sword: the goodness of the most benevolent of rulers, in treating his subjects as his own children and the tenderness of a universal father, who opened his arms to all mankind without distinction of sect or party.[6]

[5] Penn, William, *The Preface to the Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania.*

[6] O'Leary, Arthur, *An Essay on Toleration, or Plea for the Liberty of Conscience,* reference in *Publications of The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania,* XII, 3, 314.

William Penn's *Frame of Government* was established to provide political and religious liberty; he believed in those liberties because they were good for both the people and the Province. His solution of those problems pertaining to political and religious liberty remains valid although not in the form in which Penn worked them out. It would appear that Penn's basic principle, that of the supreme value of human personality, remains the only safe guide.

Penn felt that there was a place in government for temporary laws but that those temporary laws were not to be confused with the religious and moral principles, which should underlie all legislation. Liberal methods, from the very first, existed in the administration of local affairs in Pennsylvania. In New England, self-government was given to individual isolated communities, and in Virginia and Maryland it was concentrated in the county, whereas in Pennsylvania the power to make local laws as well as legislation for the entire Province, was centered in the hands of the people or their delegates. Penn provided that:

> The government of this province shall, according to the powers of the patent, consist of the Governor and freemen of the said province, in form of a Provincial Council and General Assembly, by whom all laws shall be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, as is hereinafter respectively declared . . . That the laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid, that are assented to by the General Assembly, shall be enrolled as laws of the province, with this style: *By the Governor, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in Provincial Council and General Assembly.*[7]

It is no wonder that Pennsylvania is called the Keystone of the Arch of American Liberty, for upon the political foundation of popular sovereignty, that was laid so well by Penn, her statehood has risen. A recent writer has observed that:

> Penn was full of ideas and by nature a man of great activity. It is evident that the King's Charter gave him a most congenial occasion to apply Quakerism in a new field . . . He was later disillusioned by the abuse of his generosity by his colonists. Ingratitude was a vice he could not condone. But

[7] Penn, William, *First Frame of Government for Pennsylvania.*

there was no uncertainty in his mind about the validity of progressive revelation or the means he had provided for obedience to it.[8]

The Proprietor recognized individual rights in judicial matters, and in all of his instruments of government he clearly stated his ideas:

> All difference between the planters and the natives, shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six natives, that we so may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart burning and mischief . . .[9]
>
> All courts shall be open, and justice shall neither be sold, denied or delayed . . . All trials shall be by twelve men, and as near as may be, peers or equals, and of the neighborhood, and men without just exception. In cases of life, there shall be first twenty-four returned by the sheriff for a grand inquest, of whom twelve at least shall find the complaint to be true; and then the twelve men, or peers, to be likewise returned by the sheriff, shall have the final judgment. But reasonable challenges shall be always admitted against the said twelve men or any of them . . .[10]

PRISON REFORM

The forerunner of the tasks of reform, that Pennsylvania has set for herself, in regard to penal institutions is found in a document which Penn submitted to the first Assembly of his colony for approval. He favored imprisonment as a method of punishment, but he did not approve of the idleness of prisoners:

> All prisons shall be workhouses for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons; whereof one shall be in every county . . . All prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, where the proof is evident, or the presumption great . . . All prisons shall be free, as to fees, food, and lodging.[11]

The importance of Penn's laws relating to punishment and prison was that they substituted imprisonment and fines for the death penalty, for persons who were convicted of crimes. At the same time when, in English contemporary law, there were two hundred crimes

[8] Comfort, W. W., *William Penn's Religious Background, PMHB,* LXVIII, 4.
[9] Penn, William, *Certain Conditions or Concessions* (July, 1681).
[10] *Laws Agreed Upon in England.*
[11] *Ibid.*

punishable by death, Penn limited, in his colonies, those crimes punishable by death to murder and treason. Through his leadership in reform, foundations for the liberalization of our present penal systems were probably first laid.

William Penn went far beyond his time in order to place certain responsibilities upon the government. Some of the most important of these were; to encourage those who were well disposed, to protect goodness and virtue, to reward the deserving, and to promote learning and education in general.

A PIONEER OF UNION

In February of 1697, William Penn presented, upon request, to the Board of Commissioners for Promoting the Trade of the Colonies in America, a scheme for the legislative and executive union of all the colonies. It was given as follows:

> A brief and plain scheme how the English Colonies in the north parts of America, viz: Boston, Connecticut, Rhoad Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina may be made more useful to the Crown, and one another's peace and safety with an universal concurrence.
>
> 1st. That the several Colonies before mentioned do meet once a year, and oftener if need be, during the war, and at least once in two years in times of peace, by their stated and appointed deputies, to debate and resolve of such measures as are most advisable for their better understanding, and the public tranquility and safety.
>
> 2. That in order to do it two persons well qualified for sense, sobriety and substance be appointed by each province, as their representatives or deputies, which in the whole make the Congress to consist of twenty persons.
>
> 3. That the King's Commissioner for that purpose specially appointed shall have the chair and preside in the said Congress.
>
> 4. That they shall meet as near as conveniently may be to the most central colony for ease of the deputies.
>
> 5. Since that may in all probability, be New York both because it is near the center of the Colonies and for that it is a frontier and in the Kings nomination, the Governor of that Colony may therefore also be the King's High Commissioner during the session after the manner of Scotland.

6. That their business shall be to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or difference between province and province. As 1st where persons quit their own province and go to another, that they may avoid their just debts tho they be able to pay them, 2d where offenders fly justice, or justice cannot well be had upon such offenders in the provinces that entertain them, 3dly to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce, 4th, to consider of ways and means to support the union and safety of these provinces against the public enemies. In which Congress the quotas of men and charges will be much easier, and more equally set, than it is possible for any establishment made here to do; for the provinces, knowing their own condition and one another's, can debate that matter with more freedom and satisfaction and better adjust and balance their affairs in all respects for their common safety.

7ly That in times of war the King's High Commissioner shall be general or Chief Commander of the several quotas upon service against the common enemy as he shall be advised, for the good and benefit of the whole.[12]

If Penn had done nothing more than contribute plans for a permanent peace for the Old World and present his plans for a peaceful New World, posterity would remember him with gratitude. In all of his work, as in the case of Pennsylvania, he was putting into practice his basic faith in God and man. In his conception Pennsylvania was not founded as a possible success or failure—for he was depending upon the leading of God's spirit and man's response to it, to make it a success.

Penn's concern for world peace is the only piece of "unfinished business" in his docket; every other major plan of his has been adopted.

[12] *Memoirs, HSP,* VI, 264, 265.

VII

SOME CHARACTERISTIC WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PENN

William Penn was so conscious of God's presence within him, from his twelfth year of age until his death in his seventy-fourth year, that he seldom wrote of himself; thus his literary works, even in journals and letters are seldom subjective. He rarely referred to his own affairs, in his writings; his energetic mind and his aspiring spirit were channelled toward higher ends.

Penn read theology, history, and political science—and in several languages; in that way he laid the foundations on which he later built the knowledge for which he had ready uses. As a stylist, he had unrealized and unexploited possibilities; but his style is usually inferior to his meaning, for he did not study English style. He wrote to express his ideas and to persuade his readers. His religious books were written as guides for a religious life.

William Penn's writing is classified by Besse, in five divisions: Epistolary, doctrinal, polemical, historical and political.[1] This list, however, omits the two works by which Penn is best known as an author; *No Cross, No Crown,* written in the blush and vigor of his youth, and *Some Fruits of Solitude,* the product of his years of retirement. The epistolary writings include his letters; the doctrinal writings are those in which he both explained and defended his faith; his polemical works are those in which he defended his principles and his writings, as well as those of his friends; his historical works comprise his travels on the Continent, and his description of Pennsylvania; and in his political works he strives to promote his doctrines of liberty of conscience and the rights and privileges of free men under government.

PENN AS A LETTER WRITER

In Penn's epistolary writings one is given glimpses into the mind of one who regarded his friendships as a sacred thing, not to be trespassed upon, but if occasion demanded, useful in helping to obtain benefits for the Quakers. He expressed his ideas to his family and to his friends on many subjects.

[1] *Works,* I, 3.

Few persons have minds more carefully cultivated than was William Penn's. Throughout his life, but particularly in the latter part, he endeavored to promote the cause of useful knowledge. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society about 1681,[2] and was interested in the progress of science. He was conscious of the benefits that he had received from a liberal education and he wished to have his children enjoy the same privilege. A letter that was written to his wife, when he was about to leave for Pennsylvania, for the first time, relates his concern for the education of his children:

> "For their learning, be liberal; spare no cost for by such parsimony, all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation, &c. but agriculture is especially in my eye . . . Be sure to observe their genius, and don't cross it as to learning; let them not dwell too long on one thing, but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some bodily labour in them . . .[3]

In a letter written to Sir John Rodes of Chesterfield, England, in October of 1693, Penn indicated his own wide reading and his solid foundation in the classics. Among many other standard works in different fields of knowledge he mentions:

> Selden of Tythes, Taylor's Liberty of Prophesy, Goodwin's Antiquities, Cave's Primative Christianity, Morals of the Gentiles, Plutarch, Seneca, Epictetus, M. A. Antonius. Also Lives, as Plutarch, Stanly's of the Philosophers, Lloyd's State Worthys' Clark's Lives and Winstanley's England's Worthys . . .[4]

This epistle *To Friends in Maryland* written in 1673, is typical of Penn's concern for the spiritual and physical welfare of all with whom he came into contact:

> Dear Friends:
>
> Though unknown to you in body, yet well known in spirit by that eternal living union and fellowship that the light of the Lord Jesus Christ hath brought us into, which comprehends the world, the life, wisdom and works of it, and re-

[2] *Bulletin,* Friends Historical Association, XXX, 8-10.
[3] Janney, 189.
[4] Lampson, Mrs. Godfrey Locker, *A Quaker Post Bag,* 5.

proves them all as degenerated from the life of God, and the common-wealth of His blessed spiritual Israel: And blessed will you be for ever, as you keep therein, for a growing up into immortality, and the life, peace, and joy that are eternal, you will witness more and more, which is the heavenly durable treasure in the earthen vessel. In the living sense of His precious truth, and glorious day of light, life, and love, that has dawned and is breaking up clearer and clearer upon us, my soul salutes you, the honest and faithful-hearted Friends of Maryland Plantation, wishing you the increases of God day by day to the building you more and more up into the image that is glorious, being the express representation of Him that hath called you, to the hope that gives comfort in that day of the Lord: Oh, my dear Friends, up and work for the Lord God, for the despised light and truth of Jesus in your day, and let not us be less vigilant, in the tender, diligent, fervent spirit of God, than the world is for their mammon, that so we may appear men for God, not for our selves, minding the things of Christ and not our own . . . . So shall God's truth spread to the utmost parts of the earth, and the heathen shall become the inheritance of that true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.[5]

PENN THE TRAVELLER

Penn's historical works include his *Journal,* a record of his religious journey into Holland and Germany in 1677. His explanation for writing it is given in these words:

> This ensuing *Journal of My Travels in Holland and Germany,* in the service of the gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own and some relations, and particular Friends' satisfaction.[6]

To the Prince Elector of Heidelberg [Germany] whom he failed to meet because of the ruler's absence from his court, he wrote this letter:

> Great Prince:
> It would seem strange that I, both a stranger, and a subject, would use this freedom of address to a prince, were he not one, whose actions shew him to be of a free disposition, and easie access to all: Would to God all princes were of that mind! And though I cannot so fully, and consequently not

[5] *Works,* I, 163.
[6] *Ibid.,* 50.

so clearly, express by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this visit, yet this being all the way that is left me, I shall declare them as well as I can.

* * * *

In the first place, I do with all sincere and Christian respect, acknowledge and commend that INDULGENCE thou givest to all people professing religion . . .

* * * *

The next thing I should have taken the liberty to have discours'd, would have been this: What encouragement a colony of virtuous and industrious families might hope to receive from thee, in case they should transplant themselves into this country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting taxes, oaths, arms, &c . . .

* * * *

One thing . . . give me leave to recommend to thee . . . be very careful of inculcating generous, free and righteous principles into thy son, who is like to succeed thee, that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not sink by contrary practices . . .[7]

Proof of the fellowship, that Penn induced, is in a letter written to the Countess of Falckensteyn and Bruch, at Mülheim [Germany], of whom he had heard, in his journey:

My Dear Friend,

. . . Tho' unknown, yet art thou much beloved for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God: The report whereof, from some in the same state, hath made deep impression of true kindness upon my spirit, and raised in me a very singular and fervent inclination to visit thee; and the rather, because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of thy zeal towards God, myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause, from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world. The remembrance whereof hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me . . .[8]

[7] *Ibid.*, 74-76.
[8] *Ibid.*, 80, 81.

MESSAGE TO A RULER

The Czar of Muscovy, who afterward became Peter the Great, founder of the Russian Empire, visited England in 1698. One of the objects of his visit was to acquire a knowledge of ship building; to accomplish his object he worked as a shipwright in the dock yard at Deptford, England. He occasionally attended Friends' meetings, and thus formed an acquaintance with William Penn. Penn felt a deep interest in the welfare of Peter, as the following letter written in 1698 will show:

> . . . It was a profound respect, and not a vain curiosity, great Czar, which brought me twice to wait upon thee. My desire was, and is, that as God Almighty has distinguished thee above so many millions of thy fellow-creatures, so thou mayest distinguish thyself above them by an extraordinary zeal for piety and charity which are the two legs the Christian religion stands upon, and where they are wanting or defective, it must needs fall in the streets to the scorn and triumph of the heathen. May thy example show thee to be as good as great, that thou mayest bear His image, by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice, which without goodness, power itself can never do . . . Know, great Czar, and take it with thee as one part of the collection of knowledge thou art making in this unexampled travel, that 'tis in this kingdom of England, that God has visited and touched the hearts of a people above forty years ago, by the holy light and grace of His Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ . . . They are an inward and retired people that dare not conform themselves to vain investions and fashions of the world, either in religious or civil conversation, but live and act as believing that God seeth them in all they do, and will judge them according to what they do. They teach that men must be holy, or they cannot be happy—without which, faith is false, worship formality, and religion hypocrisy. Yet they are an industrious people in their generation, and though against superfluity, yet lovers of ingenuity. It was in their name five of us came to salute thee, who wish thou mayest have an eye to their divine principle of life, and light in the soul, a measure of which is given to thee and all men to profit with. That by it, piety, wisdom, and charity, may dwell with thee, and thou mayest be qualified to serve the mighty God suitable to the great opportunities He hath put into thy hands, so prays a little man, but thy great friend and well wisher.
>
> WILLIAM PENN[9]

[9] *The Friend,* III, 6, 145.

ADVICE TO A NOBLEMAN

In a letter to Sir John Rodes, in 1693, there is a splendid example of the kind of advice that Penn often gave to his friends and acquaintances:

> Dear Friend:
>
> I hope I shall always be ready to show thee how much I desire thy prosperity every way [part of this letter, here omitted, has been quoted previously]. If I were to begin again, I would buy as I read, or but a few more at least, and in reading have a pencil, and what is of instruction or observable, mark it in the margin with the most leading word and collect those memorandums with their pages into a clean sheet put into the book or a pocket book for that purpose, which is the way to fasten what one reads and to be master of other men's sense.
>
> Always write thy name in the title pages, if not year and cost, that if lent, the owner may be better remembered and found. Observe to put down in a pocket book, for that purpose, all openings of moment which are usually short, but full and lively; for I have few things to remember with more trouble than forgetting of such irrecoverable thoughts and reflections. I have lost a volume of them. They come without toil or beating the brain, therefore the purer, and upon all subjects; nature, grace, and art. Thou art young, now is the time and use it to the utmost profit. Oh! had I thy time in all likelihood to live, what could I not do. Therefore, prize thy time . . . .[10]

In 1682, when Penn sailed for the first time for Pennsylvania, he left a beautiful letter of counsel to his wife and three living children. The part of the communication that was intended for his wife is warm with terms of his affection for her; while the letters to the children are written in a style suited to their youth. These letters are reproduced in an illustration included in this book.

A LETTER TO BUSINESS LEADERS

Penn wrote a letter to the Free Society of Traders in 1683, which has a long description of Pennsylvania. It falls into an important place among his historical tracts, part of which is included in Chapter IV. The portion of the letter, in which an account of the Indians is

[10] Lampson, 3, 6, 7.

given, abounds with pertinent observations on the language, customs, physical character, and disposition of the natives:

> . . . The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin: Of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bears-fat clarified, and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black . . . The thick lip and flat nose . . . are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both sexes as on your side the sea . . . Their language is lofty, yet narrow . . . like short-hand in writing.
>
> Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said, I will begin with children . . . While very young . . . having wrapt them . . . they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs . . . if boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. Then they hunt, and having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them . . .
>
> Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffels they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them. Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared . . . If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodgings at their house, or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut . . .
>
> . . . They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them . . . But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend . . . In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children,

to whom they are extremely natural: They drink at those times, a teran, or decoction of some roots in spring-water . . . If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: Their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: They are choice of the graves of their dead; lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness. These poor people are under a dark light in things relating to religion, to be sure, the tradition of it; yet they believe a GOD and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, there is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a Glorious Country to the southward of them, and, that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again . . .

Their government is by kings, which they call sachems, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side . . . Every king hath his council . . . The justice they have is pecuniary: In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured . . . We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them, but *let them have justice, and you win them . . .*[11]

OBSERVATIONS OF A PHILOSOPHER

Among Penn's political works the best known, probably, is *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.*[12] Of the causes of differences and motives to violate peace, Penn says:

There appears to me but three things upon which peace is broken, viz: To keep, to recover, or to add . . .

* * * *

Government is an expedient against confusion; a restraint upon all disorder; just weights and even balance: That one may not injure another nor himself by intemperance . . . It is certain that the most natural and human government is that of consent, for that binds freely . . . when men hold their liberty by true obedience to rules of their own making . . .[13]

[11] Janney, 230-235.
[12] See Chapter VI, preceding.
[13] *Ibid.*

Almost all of Penn's polemical writings endeavor to convince rather than to confute his opponents; thus in *A Reply to a Pretended Answer,* he shows the logical trend of his reasoning and his method of persuasion:

> Tho' I submit to controversy as my drudgery, not my pleasure, otherwise than as it is my duty, yet, I cannot but say, I am glad that the public contradiction of a nameless author, to a small treatise of mine, called, *A Key,* clearing out principles from vulgar apprehensions, gives me farther occasion to declare and justify them to the world: In the doing of which, I shall endeavor, with God's assistance, so to govern myself, that my antagonist shall see it has not been in his power, with all his scornful and abusive treatment of me, my friends, and our holy religion, to provoke me to any other towards him in my reply, than what is suitable to Christianity . . .[14]

In the polemical tract, *A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People Called Quakers,* Penn says:

> It's wretched, and almost unpardonable in men, to pretend themselves ministers of the meek and self-denying Jesus, when they are not yet learnt in the school of doing as they would be done by . . .[15]

Again in his epistolary writings, there is proof of wisdom in the tender advice that William Penn gives to his children:

> . . . Hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it . . . In the first place remember your Creator in the days of your youth . . . eschew the appearance of evil . . . and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world . . . Be obedient to your dear Mother; a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding . . .
>
> Next betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not for sordid covetousness, but for example, and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, or of guardians, or those that have charge of you . . . And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient

[14] *Works,* II, 807, 808.
[15] *Ibid.,* 35.

and meek . . . Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others, for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship; neither will a true friend expect it . . .

Let your industry and parsimony go no farther than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children . . . I charge you help the poor and needy . . .

Know well your incomings . . . And your outgoings may be better regulated. Love not money, nor the world; use them only and they will serve you . . . Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them . . . In making friends, consider well first . . . Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it . . . Avoid pride, avarice and luxury. Be no busy bodies . . .

As for you who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you, before the Lord God and His holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender; fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness . . .

Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love . . . Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever . . .[16]

FROM THE CLOSING YEARS OF A BUSY LIFE

William Penn's subjects for doctrinal discourse were varied and he was a suggestive writer on many aspects of human life, especially in *Some Fruits of Solitude.* In Volume I of the *Harvard Classics,* together with an *Autobiography* of Benjamin Franklin and the *Journal* of John Woolman, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and *More Fruits of Solitude* are published in full. *Some Fruits* contains 556 proverbial observations and maxims on life; *More Fruits* 299; in all 855. The spirit of the two wise and kindly books is summed up with the second paragraph of a preface to the first part:

> "The author blesses God for his retirement and kisses that Gentle Hand which led him into it: For though it should prove barren to the world it can never do so to him,"

and in the statement and aims in the introduction to the reader at the beginning of *More Fruits:*

[16] Clarkson, I, 317-327.

> "Lastly, the author honestly aims at as general a benefit as the thing will bear: To youth especially, whether he hits the mark or not: and that without the least ostentation or any private regards."

The editor of the *Harvard Classics* characterizes *Some Fruits of Solitude* as "a mine of pithy comments upon human life, which combines with the acute common sense of Franklin the spiritual elevation of Woolman."

Edmund Gosse in a delightful introduction to an edition published in 1903 speaks of the popularity of *The Fruits,* for many years, and of abundant editions in the British Museum. He noted that the latest regular reissue occurred in 1793, but it was reprinted several times in the nineteenth century. He dwells on Robert Louis Stevenson's love of the collection which he found in a second hand copy in a book stall in San Francisco. Some years later Stevenson gave that particular copy to his friend, Horatio F. Brown, with these words:

> "If ever in all my 'human conduct', I have done a better thing to any fellow creature than handing on to you this sweet, dignified and wholesome book, I know I shall hear of it on the last day. To write a book like this were impossible: at least one can hand it on with a wrench to another. My wife cries out and my own heart misgives me, but still—here it is."

In a later letter he continues:

> "Even the copy was dear to me, printed in the colony that Penn established, and carried in my pocket all about in San Francisco streets, read in street cars and ferry-boats, when I was sick unto death, and found in all times and places a peaceful and sweet companion . . . There is not the man living—no, nor recently dead—that could put, with so lovely a spirit, so much honest, kind wisdom into words." [17]

The extent to which Penn was conscious of a Divine guidance is shown in his most important religious work, *No Cross, No Crown.* In the Preface of this work he states his reason for writing it:

> Christ's cross is Christ's way to Christ's crown. This is the subject of the following discourse; first writ during my confinement in the Tower of London, in the year 1668 . . . now reprinted, that thou reader, may be won to Christ; and if won already brought nearer to Him.[18]

[17] Penn, William, *Some Fruits of Solitude* (Introduction by Edmund Gosse), 5, 6, 7. Printed by David McKay Company, Philadelphia.
[18] *Works,* I, 273.

That Christ is the Light of the World, Penn points out in these words:

> But thou wilt say, *What is Christ and where is He to be found?* And how received and applied in order to this mighty cure. I will tell thee then: First, He is the Great Spiritual light of the World, that enlightens everyone that comes into the world; by which He manifests to them their deeds of darkness and wickedness, and reproves them for committing them. He is not far away from thee . . . *Behold* (says Christ himself) I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me. What door can this be, but that of the heart of man?[19]

He realized, very well, that temptation must come to all, yet he cautioned against the ways of wickedness, and explained that the crown would reward the cross:

> O, this shows to every experience, how hard it is to be a true disciple of Jesus. The way is narrow indeed, and the gate very straight, where not a word, no not a thought, must slip the watch, or escape judgment: Such circumspection, such caution, such patience, such constancy, such holy fear and trembling. This gives an easy interpretation to that hard saying, Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God: Those that are captivated with fleshly lusts and affections; for they cannot bear the cross; and they that cannot endure the cross, must never have the crown. *To reign, 'tis necessary to suffer.*[20]

[19] *Ibid.*, 279.
[20] *Ibid.*, 285.

A CHRONOLOGY

1621, birth of William Penn the elder	
	Birth of John Locke, 1632
	Birth of Isaac Newton, 1642
1644, Oct. 24, birth of William Penn (October 14, old style)	Civil War in England, King vs. Parliament
	Roger Williams and John Eliot in New England
	Peter Stuyvesant Governor of New Netherlands
1644-1648 Infancy	Thirty Years' War in Europe, 1618-1648
Smallpox at age of three	Battle of Naseby, Charles I overthrown, 1645
	Louis XIV, King of France, 1643-1715
1648-1656 At Chigwell School	Charles I executed, 1649
	England under Oliver Cromwell
	John Lilburne's two trials, important for rights of juries, 1649, 1653
	England's first war with Holland, 1652-1654
	Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, 1652-1656
	Jamaica seized by the English, under the elder Penn, 1655
1656-1660 Private tutors	Death of Oliver Cromwell, 1658
	Four Quakers hanged in Boston, 1659-1661
1660, May, the elder Penn knighted by Charles II	Restoration of the Stuart Kings, Parliament, and the Anglican Church, 1660
1660-1662 Oxford University (Oct. 26, 1660 to about March 1, 1662)	Various acts called "Clarendon Code" adopted, beginning religious persecution, 1661-1665
	Beginning of English empire in India, 1661
	Birth of Daniel Defoe, 1661
First expulsion from home	
1663-1664 The Grand Tour (July, 1662 to about Aug. 26, 1664)	New Netherlands to the Duke of York, 1664
1664-1666 Lincoln's Inn (about Aug., 1664 to early spring, 1666)	Second war with Holland, 1664-1667
	The Plague in London, 1665

1666-1667 Ireland
(early spring, 1666 to about Christmas, 1667)
Contacts with Quakerism
First imprisonment, at Cork, 1667
Second expulsion from home
1668-1669 Quaker Preacher
Imprisoned in the Tower of London
No Cross, No Crown

England's first war with Louis XIV, 1666-1667
The Great Fire of London, 1666

Birth of Jonathan Swift, 1667
The Dutch fleet in the Medway, 1667
Louis XIV's first war of aggression, 1667-1668

1669-1670 Second Visit to Ireland

John Locke's Constitution for Carolina, 1669

1670-1681 Struggle for Toleration
1670, Sept. 1-5, the Penn-Mead trial; Sept. 16, death of Admiral Sir William Penn
1671, Feb., Penn arrested and imprisoned in Newgate for six months
1671, autumn, travels in Holland and Germany
1672, Apr. 4, marries Gulielma Springett
1673, intercedes at court for release of George Fox

Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence

England's third war with Holland, 1672-1674
Louis XIV's second war of aggression, 1672-1674

1675, becomes interested in New Jersey
1675, birth of Springett Penn
1677, second visit to Holland and Germany
1678, birth of Letitia Penn

King Philip's War in New England, 1675-1676

The Popish Plot, and anti-Catholic agitation

1679, campaign for the election of Sidney

Habeas Corpus Act, 1679

1681-1682 Founding of Pennsylvania
1681, March 4, King Charles signs the Charter
1681, March 14, birth of William Penn, Jr.
1681, April 2, the Charter proclaimed
1681, April 10, Markham made deputy governor

Louis XIV annexes Alsace and Lorraine

1681, Aug. 3, Markham summons council at Upland, beginning Pennsylvania's government

1681, Nov., Penn elected to Royal Society

1682, March, death of Penn's mother

1682, April, Penn issues First Frame of Government

1682-1684 First Visit to Pennsylvania

1682, Aug. 30, embarks for Pennsylvania

1682, Oct. 24, enters Delaware Bay

1682, Oct. 27, lands at New Castle, Delaware

1682, Oct. 28, Philadelphia laid out by Thomas Holme

1682, Oct. 29, Penn lands on Pennsylvania soil

1682, Dec. 4, first Assembly meets at Chester

1682, Dec. 7, the Great Law enacted

1683, April 2, Second Frame of Government adopted

1683, Oct., founding of Germantown

1684, Aug., Penn leaves for England

1685-1688 The King's Friend

1686, visits William of Orange in Holland

1687, April, James issues first Declaration of Liberty of Conscience

1688, April, James issues second Declaration

La Salle explores the Mississippi

Execution of Algernon Sidney, 1683

King John Sobieski of Poland saves Vienna from the Turks, 1683

Charter of Massachusetts forfeited, 1684

Death of Charles II, and accession of James II, Feb., 1685

Monmouth's Rebellion and the Bloody Assizes

Stuart absolutism in England

Andros ruler of New England and New York

Revocation of Edict of Nantes in France, 1685

Rhineland laid waste by Louis XIV's wars

The "Glorious Revolution" deposes James II, and makes William and Mary rulers of England, 1688-1689

1688-1693 "Jacobite" and "Traitor"

1688-1690, under investigation by Council

1692, Penn deprived of governmental powers over Pennsylvania

Declaration and Bill of Rights, 1689

Act of Toleration, 1689

Louis XIV's third war of aggression, 1689-1697, known as King William's War in America

Death of George Fox, 1691

Pacification of Limerick, 1691

Salem Witchcraft frenzy, 1692

1693, *Essay towards the . . . Peace of Europe*

Some Fruits of Solitude

1694-1699 The Province Restored

1694, Penn's governmental powers restored

1694, Feb., death of Gulielma Penn

1696, Pennsylvania Assembly adopts new Frame of Government, known as "Markham's Frame"

1696, March, marries Hannah Callowhill

1696, April, death of Springett Penn

1697, interview with Peter the Great

Plan for American Union

1698, visit to Ireland

Bank of England chartered, 1694

Death of Queen Mary, 1694

Censorship of the press abolished

Peace of Ryswick, 1697

1699-1701 Second Visit to Pennsylvania

1699, Sept. 9, embarks for Pennsylvania

1699, Nov. 30, lands at Chester

1700, Feb., birth of John Penn in Philadelphia

Completion of Pennsbury

1701, Oct. 28, the Charter of Privileges adopted, constitution of Pennsylvania until 1776

1701, Nov., return to England

Kingdom of Prussia created, 1701

1702-1712 Years of Truth

1702-1704, trouble with William Penn, Jr.

Death of King William, and accession of Queen Anne, 1702

Louis XIV's fourth war of aggression, 1702-1713

1705-1708, lawsuit with the Fords

1708, debtors' prison

1712, Penn prepares to sell his province

1712-1718 Last Years

1712, May, first stroke of paralysis

1712, Oct., second stroke

Hannah Penn acts as Governor

1718, July 30, death

1718, Aug. 5, burial at Jordans

Birth of Benjamin Franklin, 1706

Union of England and Scotland, 1707

Birth of Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712

Peace of Utrecht, 1713

Death of Queen Anne, accession of George I, 1714

The above chronology is adapted from the one in William I. Hull's *William Penn, A Topical Biography,* pages 341-343, with some omissions and some additions.

OLD AND NEW STYLE CALENDARS

The New Style or Gregorian Calendar was not adopted in England until 1752, although it had been adopted by most European countries (except Russia, Greece and the Near East) in 1582. The Old Style or Julian Calendar, established by Julius Caesar, made the year about eleven minutes too long, so that it was ten days in error by the time Pope Gregory II promulgated the necessary corrections, striking the days from October 4 to 15 from the calendar for the year 1582, and providing the present-day rule of leap year. After the year 1700, there were eleven days difference between the two calendars.

In Britain until 1752, the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Legal Year began on March 25, though the Historical Year was unofficially reckoned from the first of January. Because of this, both years were sometimes given for dates in January, February, and March 1 to 24. In Friends' dating, March was 1st. Month, and February was 12th. Month.

The New Style Calendar went into effect in England on September 3, Old Style, or September 14, New Style, 1752, dropping eleven days. After 31. x. (December 31) 1751, Friends changed the numbering of the months to correspond with the New Style. Thus, 1. i. 1752 means January 1, 1752. The Yearly Meeting in London sent an epistle to Friends everywhere telling them how to make their calculations. This was published as a broadside, both in England and Philadelphia, under the title, "To the Quarterly and Monthly Meeting of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and America. . . . From the Meeting for Sufferings in London, the sixth day of the Seventh Month 1751."

Examples:

(Friends' Calendar)		(Julian Calendar)
1. xi. 1649 (or 1. xi. 1649/50)	=	January 1, 1650, O. S.
24. i. 1649 (or 24. i. 1649/50)	=	March 24, 1650, O. S.
25. i. 1650	=	March 25, 1650, O. S.
and so on to:		
31. x. 1650	=	December 31, 1650, O. S.

Add ten days to Julian or old style dates for new style or Gregorian dates (eleven days after 1700).

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Some Fruits of Solitude

WILLIAM PENN

The William Penn Tercentenary Committee has included at the end of this memorial volume the entire text of William Penn's "Fruits of Solitude," in its two parts, written in retirement in his latter years. It is the appropriate ending. As a recognized world classic, "Fruits of Soltiude" sums up in thought and expression the rich experience of a life full of wise observation and broad philanthropy.

THE PREFACE

Reader,—*This Enchiridion,* I present thee with, is the Fruit of *Solitude:* A School few care to learn in, tho' *None* instructs us better. Some Parts of it are the *Result* of serious *Reflection:* Others the *Flashings* of *Lucid* Intervals: Writ for private Satisfaction, and now publish'd for an *Help* to *Human* Conduct.

The *Author* blesseth God for his *Retirement,* and kisses that Gentle Hand which led him into it: For though it should prove *Barren* to the World, it can never do so to him.

He has now had some *Time* he could call his own; a Property he was never so much Master of before: In which he has taken a View of himself and the World; and observed wherein he hath *hit* and *mist* the Mark; What might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his Human Conduct: Together with the *Omissions* and *Excesses* of others, as well *Societies* and *Government,* as private Families, and Persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his Life again, he could not only, with God's Grace, serve Him, but his Neighbour and himself, *better* than he hath done, and have *Seven* Years of his Time to spare. And yet perhaps he hath not been the *Worst* or the *Idlest* Man in the World; nor is he the *Oldest.* And this is the rather said, that it might quicken, Thee, *Reader,* to lose none of the Time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be so *lavish* as of Time, and about which we ought to be more *solicitous;* since without it we can do nothing in this World. *Time* is what we *want most,* but what, alas! we *use worst;* and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us, when Time shall be no more.

It is of that Moment to us in Reference to both Worlds, that I can hardly wish any Man better, than that he would seriously consider *what he does with his Time: How* and *to What Ends* he Employs it; and what Returns he makes to God, his Neighbour and Himself for it. Will he ne'er have a *Leidger* for this? This, the greatest Wisdom and Work of Life.

To come but *once* into the World, and Trifle away our true Enjoyment of it, and of our selves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one Reflection would yield a *thinking* Person great Instruction. And since nothing below Man can so *Think;* Man, is being *Thoughtless,* must needs fall below himself. And that, to be sure, such do, as are *unconcern'd* in the Use of their most Precious Time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow our selves to consider, that there's hardly any Thing we take by the Right End, or improve to its just Advantage.

We understand little of the *Works* of God, either in *Nature* or *Grace.* We pursue *false* Knowledge, and *Mistake* Education extreamly. We are *Violent* in our Affections, *Confused* and *Immethodical* in our whole Life; making That a *Burthen,* which was given for a Blessing; and so of little Comfort to our selves or others: Misapprehending the *true Notion* of Happiness, and so missing of the *Right Use* of Life, and *Way* of happy Living.

And till we are perswaded to *stop,* and *step a little aside,* out of the *noisy Crowd* and *Incumbering Hurry* of the World, and *Calmly* take a Prospect of Things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right Judgment of our Selves or know our own *Misery.* But after we have made the just Reckonings which *Retirement* will help us to, we shall begin to think the World in great measure *Mad,* and that we have been in a sort of *Bedlam* all this while.

Reader, whether Young or Old, think it not *too soon* or *too late* to turn over the *Leaves* of thy past Life: And be sure *to fold down* where any Passage of it may affect thee; And bestow thy *Remainder* of Time, to correct those Faults in thy future Conduct; Be it in Relation to this or the next Life. What thou wouldst do, if what thou hast done were to do again, *be sure to do* as long as thou livest, upon the like Occasions.

Our *Resolutions* seem to be *Vigorous,* as often as we *reflect* upon our past Errors; But, Alas! they are apt to *flat* again upon fresh Temptations to the same Things.

The Author does not pretend to deliver thee an *Exact* Piece; his Business not being *Ostentation,* but *Charity.* 'Tis *Miscellaneous* in the Matter of it, and by no means Artificial in the Composure. But it contains *Hints,* that may serve thee for *Texts to Preach* to thy Self upon, and which comprehend *Much of the Course of Human Life;* Since whether thou art *Parent* or *Child, Prince* or *Subject, Master* or *Servant, Single* or *Married, Publick* or *Private, Mean* or *Honourable, Rich* or *Poor, Prosperous* or *Improsperous,* in *Peace* or *Controversy,* in *Business* or *Solitude;* Whatever be thy Inclination or Aversion, Practice or Duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy Direction and Advantage. Accept and Improve what deserves thy Notice; The rest excuse, and place to account of good *Will* to Thee and the whole Creation of God.

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SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE

IN

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS

IGNORANCE

1. It is admirable to consider how many *Millions* of People come into, and go out of the World, *Ignorant of themselves,* and of the World they have lived in.

2. If one went to see *Windsor-Castle,* or *Hampton-Court,* it would be strange not to observe and remember the Situation, the Building, the Gardens, Fountains, *&c.* that make up the Beauty and Pleasure of such a Seat? And yet few People know *themselves;* No, not their *own Bodies,* the *Houses* of their Minds, the *most curious* Structure of the World; a *living walking* Tabernacle: Nor the *World* of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be so much our Benefit, as well as our Pleasure, to know. We cannot doubt of this when we are told that the *Invisible Things of God are brought to light by the Things that are seen;* and consequently we read our Duty in them as often as we look upon them, to him that is the Great and Wise Author of them, if we look as we should do.

3. The *World* is certainly a great and stately *Volume* of natural Things; and may be not improperly styled the *Hieroglyphicks* of a better: But, alas! how very few Leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the *Subject* of the Education of our *Youth,* who, at Twenty, when they should be fit for Business, know little or nothing of it.

EDUCATION

4. We are in Pain to make them Scholars, but not *Men!* To talk, rather than to know, which is true *Canting.*

5. The first Thing obvious to Children is what is *sensible;* and that we make no Part of their Rudiments.

6. We press their Memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with Words and Rules; to know *Grammer* and *Rhetorick,* and a strange Tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to

them; Leaving their natural *Genius* to *Mechanical* and *Physical*, or natural Knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding Use and Pleasure to them through the whole Course of their Life.

7. To be sure, Languages are not to be despised or neglected. But Things are still to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of *Tools* and *Instruments* of Play; *Shaping, Drawing, Framing,* and *Building,* &c. than getting some Rules of Propriety of Speech by Heart: And those also would follow with more Judgment, and less Trouble and Time.

9. It were Happy if we studied Nature more in natural Things; and acted according to Nature; whose Rules are *few, plain and most reasonable.*

10. Let us begin where she begins, go her Pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good *Naturalists.*

11. The Creation would not be longer a Riddle to us: The *Heavens, Earth,* and *Waters,* with their respective, various and numerous Inhabitants: Their Productions, Natures, Seasons, Sympathies and Antipathies; their Use, Benefit and Pleasure, would be better understood by us: And an *eternal Wisdom, Power, Majesty* and *Goodness,* very *conspicuous* to us, thro' those sensible and passing Forms: The World wearing the *Mark* of its Maker, whose Stamp is everywhere *visible,* and the *Characters* very *legible* to the Children of Wisdom.

12. And it would go a great way to caution and direct People in their Use of the World, that they were better studied and known in the Creation of it.

13. For how could Man find the Confidence to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator stare them in the Face, in all and every Part thereof?

14. Their Ignorance makes them insensible, and that Insensibility hardy in misusing this noble Creation, that has the Stamp and Voice of a Diety every where, and in every Thing to the Observing.

15. It is pity therefore that Books have not been composed for *Youth,* by some curious and careful *Naturalists,* and also *Mechanicks,* in the *Latin* Tongue, to be used in Schools, that they might learn

Things with Words: Things *obvious* and *familiar* to them, and which would make the Tongue easier to be obtained by them.

16. Many able *Gardiners* and *Husbandmen* are yet Ignorant of the *Reason* of their Calling; as most *Artificers* are of the Reason of their own Rules that govern their excellent Workmanship. But a Naturalist and Mechanick of this sort, is *Master* of the Reason of both, and might be of the Practice too, if his Industry kept pace with his Speculation; which were very commendable; and without which he cannot be said to be a *complete* Naturalist or Mechanick.

17. Finally, if Man be the *Index* or *Epitomy* of the World, as *Philosophers* tell us, we have only to read our *selves* well to be *learned* in it. But because there is nothing we less regard than the *Characters* of the Power that made us, which are so clearly written upon us and the World he has given us, and can best tell us what we are and should be, we are even Strangers to our own *Genius:* The *Glass* in which we should see that true instructing and agreeable Variety, which is to be observed in Nature, to the Admiration of that Wisdom and Adoration of that Power which made us all.

PRIDE

18. And yet we are very apt to be *full* of our selves, instead of *Him* that made what we so much value; and, but for whom we can have no Reason to value our selves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not our selves: For we are all but *Tenants,* and at *Will* too, of the great Lord of our selves, and the rest of this great *Farm,* the World that we live upon.

19. But methinks we cannot answer it to our Selves as well as our Maker, that we should live and die ignorant of our Selves, and thereby of Him and the Obligations we are under to Him for our Selves.

20. If the worth of a Gift sets the Obligation, and directs the return of the Party that receives it; he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loss to value it and the Giver, for it.

21. Here is Man in his Ignorance of himself. He knows not how to estimate his Creator, because he knows not how to value his Creation. If we consider his Make, and lovely Compositure; the several Stories of his lovely Structure. His divers Members, their Order, Function and Dependency: The Instruments of Food, the Vessels of Digestion, the

several Transmutations it passes. And how Nourishment is carried and defused throughout the whole Body, by most innate and imperceptible Passages. How the Animal Spirit is thereby refreshed, and with an unspeakable Dexterity and Motion sets all Parts at work to feed themselves. And last of all, how the Rational Soul is seated in the Animal, as its proper House, as is the Animal in the Body: I say if this rare Fabrick alone were but considered by us, with all the rest by which it is fed and comforted, surely Man would have a more reverent Sense of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God, and of that Duty he owes to Him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own Soul, its noble Faculties, its Union with the Body, its Nature and End, and the Providences by which the whole Frame of Humanity is preserved, he would Admire and Adore his Good and Great God. But Man is become a strange *Contradiction* to himself; but it is of himself; Not being by Constitution, but *Corruption* such.

22. He would have others obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey God, that is so much above him, and who made him.

23. He will lose none of his Authority; no, not bate an Ace of it: He is humorous to his Wife, he beats his Children, is angry with his Servants, strict with his Neighbours, revenges all Affronts to Extremity; but, alas, forgets all the while that *he is the Man;* and is more in *Arrear* to God, that is so very patient with him, than they are to him with whom he is so strict and impatient.

24. He is curious to *wash, dress* and *perfume* his Body, but *careless* of his Soul. The one shall have many Hours, the other not so many Minutes. This shall have three or four new Suits in a Year, but that must wear its *old Cloaths* still.

25. If he be to receive or see a great Man, how nice and anxious is he that all things be in order? And with what Respect and Address does he approach and make his Court? But to God, how *dry* and *formal* and *constrained* in his Devotion?

26. In his Prayers he says, *Thy Will be done:* But means his own: At least acts so.

27. It is too frequent to begin with God and end with the *World.* But He is the good Man's *Begining* and *End;* his *Alpha* and *Omega.*

LUXURY

28. Such is now become our Delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary Meat, nor drink small, pall'd Liquor; we must have the best, and the best cook'd for our Bodies, while our Souls feed on *empty* or *corrupted* Things.

29. In short, Man is *spending* all upon a *bare* House, and hath little or no Furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the Cabinet before the Jewel, a Lease of seven Years before an Inheritance. So *absurd* a thing is Man, after all his proud Pretences to Wit and Understanding.

INCONSIDERATION

30. The want of due Consideration is the Cause of all the Unhappiness Man brings upon himself. For his second Thoughts rarely agree with his first, which pass not without a considerable Retrenchment or Correction. And yet that sensible Warning is, too frequently, not Precaution enough for his future Conduct.

31. Well may we say our Infelicity is of our selves; since there is nothing we do that we should not do, *but we know it, and yet do it.*

DISAPPOINTMENT AND RESIGNATION

32. For *Disappointments,* that come not by our own Folly, they are the Tryals or Corrections of Heaven: And it is our *own* Fault, if they prove not our Advantage.

33. To repine at them does not mend the Matter: It is only to *grumble* at our Creator. But to see the Hand of God in them, with an humble Submission to his Will, is the Way to *turn our Water into Wine,* and engage the greatest Love and Mercy on our side.

34. We must needs disorder our selves, if we only look at our Losses. But if we consider how *little* we deserve what is left, our Passion will *cool,* and our Murmurs will turn into Thankfulness.

35. If our Hairs fall not to the Ground, *less do we* or our Substance without God's *Providence.*

36. Nor can we fall below the *Arms* of God, how low soever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's Passion is over, his *Compassion* is not. That never fails his humble, sincere Disciples: In him, they find more than all that they lose in the World.

MURMURING

38. Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any Body desires of us that which is their own? All we have is the *Almighty's:* And shall not God have his *own* when he calls for it?

39. Discontentedness is not only in such a Case Ingratitude, but *Injustice.* For we are both unthankful for the time we had it, and not honest enough to restore it, if we could keep it.

40. But it is hard for us to look on things in such a Glass, and at such a Distance from this low World; and yet it is our Duty, and would be our *Wisdom* and our *Glory* to do so.

CENSORIOUSNESS

41. We are apt to be very pert at *censuring others,* where we will not endure advice our selves. And nothing, shews our Weakness more than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other Mens Faults, and so *purblind* about our own.

42. When the Actions of a Neighbour are upon the Stage, we can have all our Wits about us, are so quick and critical we can split an Hair, and find out every Failure and Infirmity: *But are without feeling, or have but very little Sense of our own.*

43. Much of this comes from *Ill Nature,* as well as from an inordinate Value of our selves: For we love Rambling better than home, and blaming the unhappy, rather than covering and relieving them.

44. In such Occasions some shew their Malice, and are witty upon *Misfortunes;* others their Justice, they can reflect a pace: But few or none their Charity; especially if it be about Money Matters.

45. You shall see an *old Miser* come forth with a set Gravity, and so much Severity against the distressed, *to excuse his Purse,* that he will, e'er he has done, put it out of all Question, That Riches is *Righteousness* with him. *This,* says he, *is the Fruit of your Prodigality* (as if, poor Man, *Covetousness* were no Fault) Or, *of your Projects, or grasping after a great Trade:* While he himself would have done the

same thing, but that he had not the *Courage* to venture so much ready Money *out of his own trusty Hands,* though it had been to have brought him back the *Indes* in return. But the Proverb is just, *Vice should not correct Sin.*

46. They have a Right to censure, that have a *Heart* to help: The rest is Cruelty, not Justice.

BOUNDS OF CHARITY

47. Lend not *beyond* thy Ability, nor *refuse* to lend out of thy Ability; especially when it will help others *more than it can hurt thee.*

48. If thy Debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy Mony again, if not with Encrease, with Praise: If he prove insolvent, don't ruin him to get that, *which it will not ruin thee to lose:* For thou art but a *Steward,* and another is thy Owner, Master and Judge.

49. The more merciful Acts thou dost, the more Mercy thou wilt *receive;* and if with a *charitable* Imployment of thy Temporal Riches, thou gainest *eternal* Treasure, thy Purchase is *infinite:* Thou wilt have found the Art of *Multiplying* indeed.

FRUGALITY OR BOUNTY

50. *Frugality* is good, if *Liberality* be join'd with it. The first is *leaving* off superfluous Expences; the last *bestowing* them to the *Benefit* of others that need. The first without the last *begins Covetousness;* the last without the first *begins Prodigality:* Both together make an *excellent Temper.* Happy the Place where ever that is found.

51. Were it universal, we should be Cur'd of two Extreams, *Want* and *Excess:* and the one would supply the other, and so bring both nearer to a *Mean;* the just Degree of earthly Happiness.

52. It is a Reproach to Religion and Government to suffer so much Poverty and Excess.

53. Were the *Superfluities* of a Nation valued, and made a perpetual *Tax* or *Benevolence,* there would be more Almshouses than Poor; Schools than Scholars; and *enough to spare* for Government besides.

54. *Hospitality* is good, if the poorer sort are the *Subjects* of our Bounty; else too near a Superfluity.

DISCIPLINE

55. If thou wouldst be happy and easie in thy Family, above all things observe *Discipline.*

56. Every one in it should know their Duty; and there should be a Time and Place for every thing; and whatever else is done or omitted, *be sure to begin and end with God.*

INDUSTRY

57. Love *Labour:* For if thou dost not want it for Food, thou mayest for *Physick.* It is *wholesom* for thy Body, and good for thy Mind. It *prevents* the Fruits of Idleness, which many times come of nothing to do and leads too many to do what is *worse* than nothing.

58. A *Garden,* an *Elaboratory,* a *Work-house, Improvements* and *Breeding,* are pleasant and profitable Diversions to the Idle and Ingenious: For here they *miss* Ill Company, and converse with *Nature* and *Art;* whose Variety are equally grateful and instructing; and preserve a *good Constitution* of Body and Mind.

TEMPERANCE

59. To this a *spare* Diet contributes much. Eat therefore to *live,* and do not live to eat. That's like a *Man,* but this below a *Beast.*

60. Have wholesome, but not *costly* Food, and be rather cleanly than *dainty* in ordering it.

61. The *Receipts* of Cookery are *swell'd* to a Volume, but a *good Stomach* excels them all; to which nothing contributes more than *Industry* and *Temperance.*

62. It is a cruel Folly to offer up to *Ostentation* so many Lives of Creatures, as make up the State of our Treats; as it is a prodigal one to spend more in *Sawce* than in Meat.

63. The Proverb says, *That enough is as good as a Feast:* But it is certainly better, if Superfluity be a Fault, which never fails to be at Festivals.

64. If thou rise with an Appetite, thou are sure never to sit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art *dry;* nor then, between Meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The *smaller* the Drink, the *clearer* the Head, and the *cooler* the Blood; which are great Benefits in Temper and Business.

67. Strong Liquors are good at some Times, and in small Proportions; being better for *Physick* than Food, for *Cordials* than common Use.

68. The most *common* things are the most *useful;* which shews both the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of the great Lord of the Family of the World.

69. What therefore he has made rare, don't thou use *too commonly:* Lest thou shouldest invert the Use and Order of things; become Wanton and Voluptuous; and thy Blessings prove a *Curse.*

70. *Let nothing be lost,* said our Saviour. But that is *lost* that is *misused.*

71. Neither urge another to that thou wouldst be unwilling to do thy self, nor do thy self what looks to thee *unseemly,* and intemperate in another.

72. All Excess is ill: But *Drunkenness* is of the worst Sort. It *spoils* Health, *dismounts* the Mind, and unmans Men: It *reveals Secrets,* is *Quarrelsome, Lascivious, Impudent, Dangerous* and *Mad.* In fine, he that is drunk is not a Man: Because he is so long void of *Reason,* that distinguishes a Man from a Beast.

APPAREL

73. Excess in Apparel is another costly Folly. The very Trimming of the vain World would cloath all the *naked* one.

74. Chuse thy Cloaths by thine own Eyes, not anothers. The more plain and simple they are, the better. Neither unshapely, nor fantastical; and for Use and Decency, and not for Pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the *Poor,* and please the *Wanton.*

76. It is said of the true Church, *the King's Daughter is all glorious within.* Let our Care therefore be of our Minds more than of our Bodies, if we would be of her Communion.

77. We are told with Truth, that *Meekness* and *Modesty* are the Rich and Charming Attire of the Soul: And the plainer the Dress, the more Distinctly, and with greater Lustre, their Beauty shines.

78. It is great Pity such Beauties are so *rare,* and those of *Jezebel's* Forehead are so *common:* Whose Dresses are Incentives to Lust; but *Bars* instead of Motives, to *Love* or *Vertue.*

RIGHT MARRIAGE

79. Never Marry but *for love;* but see that thou lov'st what is *lovely.*

80. If Love be not thy *chiefest* Motive, thou wilt soon grow *weary* of a Married State, and *stray* from thy Promise, to search out thy Pleasures in *forbidden* Places.

81. Let not Enjoyment *lessen,* but augment Affection; it being the basest of Passions *to like when we have not, what we slight when we possess.*

82. It is the difference betwixt *Lust* and *Love,* that this is fixt, that volatile. Love grows, Lust wastes by Enjoyment: And the Reason is, that one springs from an *Union of Souls, and the other from an Union of Sense.*

83. They have Divers Originals, and so are of different Families: That *inward* and *deep,* this superficial; this transient, and that parmanent.

84. They that Marry for *Money* cannot have the true Satisfaction of Marriage; the requisite Means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the *Breed* of their *Horses* and *Dogs* than of their Children.

86. Those must be of the best Sort, for *Shape, Strength, Courage* and *good Conditions:* But as for these, their own Posterity, *Money shall answer all Things.* With such, it makes the *Crooked Streight, sets Squint-Eyes Right, cures Madness, covers Folly, changes ill Conditions, mends the Skin, gives a sweet Breath, repairs Honours, makes Young, works Wonders.*

87. O how *sordid* is *Man* grown! *Man,* the noblest Creature in the World, as a *God* on *Earth,* and the *Image* of him that made it; thus to *mistake* Earth for Heaven, and *worship* Gold for God!

AVARICE

88. Covetousness is the *greatest of Monsters,* as well as the *Root of all Evil.* I have once seen the Man that *dyed to save Charges. What! Give Ten Shillings to a Doctor, and have an Apothecary's Bill besides, that may come to I know not what! No,* not he: Valuing Life less than *Twenty Shillings.* But indeed such a Man could not well set too low a Price upon himself; who, though he liv'd up to the Chin in Bags, had *rather die* than find in his Heart to *open one* of them, to help to save his Life.

89. Such a Man is *felo de se,* and deserves not *Christian Burial.*

90. He is a *common Nusance,* a *Weyer* cross the Stream, that stops the Current: An *Obstruction,* to be remov'd by a Purge of the Law. The only Gratification he gives his Neighbours, is to let them see that he himself is as little the better for what he has, as they are. For he always looks like *Lent;* a sort of *Lay Minim.* In some Sense he may be compar'd to *Pharoah's lean Kine,* for all that he has does him no good. He commonly wears his Cloaths till they *leave him,* or that no Body else can wear them. He affects to be thought poor, to escape *Robbery* and *Taxes:* And by looking as if he wanted an *Alms,* excusing himself from giving any. He ever goes late to Markets, to cover buying the worst: But does it because that is cheapest. He lives of the *Offal.* His Life were an insupportable Punishment to any Temper but his own: And no greater Torment to him on Earth, than to live as other Men do. But the Misery of his Pleasure is, that he is *never satisfied* with *getting,* and always in *Fear of losing* what he cannot use.

91. How vilely has he lost himself, that becomes a *Slave* to his Servant; and exalts him to the Dignity of his Maker? *Gold* is the *God,* the *Wife,* the *Friend* of the *Money-Monger* of the World.

92. But in Marriage do thou be wise; prefer the *Person* before Money, *Vertue* before Beauty, the *Mind* before the Body: Then thou hast a *Wife,* a *Friend,* a *Companion,* a *Second Self;* one that bears an equal Share with thee in all thy Toyls and Troubles.

93. Chuse one that Measures her satisfaction, Safety and Danger, by *thine;* and of whom, thou art sure, as of thy secretest Thoughts: A *Friend* as well as a Wife, which indeed a Wife *implies:* For she is but *half* a Wife that is not, or is not capable of being *such* a Friend.

94. *Sexes* make no Difference; since in *Souls* there is *none:* And they are the Subjects of *Friendship.*

95. He that minds a Body and not a Soul, has not the *better* Part of that Relation; and will consequently want the Noblest Comfort of a Married Life.

96. The Satisfaction of our Senses is *low, short,* and *transient:* But the *Mind* gives a more raised and extended Pleasure, and is capable of an Happiness founded upon *Reason;* not bounded and limited by the Circumstances that Bodies are confin'd to.

97. *Here* it is we ought to search out our Pleasure, where the Field is large and full of Variety, and of an induring Nature: *Sickness, Poverty* or *Disgrace,* being not able to *shake* it, because it is not under the moving Influences of Worldly Contingences.

98. The Satisfaction of those that do so is in *well-doing,* and in the *Assurance* they have of a future Reward: That they are *best* loved of those they love most, and that they enjoy and value the Liberty of their *Minds* above that of their Bodies; having the *whole Creation* for their Prospect, the most Noble and *Wonderful Works* and *Providences* of God, the *Histories* of the Antients, and in them the *Actions* and *Examples* of the Vertuous; and lastly, *themselves,* their *Affairs* and *Family,* to exercise their Minds and Friendship upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without Reserve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and sincere; nothing more contented and constant than such a Couple; nor no greater temporal Felicity than to be *one of them.*

100. Between a Man and his Wife nothing ought to rule but *Love.* Authority is for *Children* and *Servants;* yet not without Sweetness.

101. As Love ought to bring them together, so it is the best Way to keep them *well* together.

102. Wherefore use her not as a *Servant,* whom thou would'st, perhaps, have serv'd *Seven Years* to have obtained.

103. An Husband and Wife that love and value one another, shew their Children and Servants, That they should do so too. *Others visibly lose their Authority in their Families by their Contempt of one another;* and teach their Children to be unnatural by their own Example.

104. It is a general Fault, not to be more careful to preserve Nature in Children; who, at least in the second Descent, hardly have the *Feeling* of their Relation; which must be an unpleasant Reflection to affectionate Parents.

105. Frequent *Visits, Presents, intimate Correspondence* and *Intermarriages* within allowed Bounds, are Means of keeping up the Concern and Affection that Nature requires from Relations.

FRIENDSHIP

106. *Friendship* is the next Pleasure we may hope for: And where we find it not at home, or have no home to find it in, we may seek it abroad. It is an Union of *Spirits,* a Marriage of *Hearts,* and the Bond thereof *Vertue.*

107 There can be no Friendship where there is no *Freedom.* Friendship loves a *free* Air, and will not be penned up in streight and narrow Enclosures. It will speak *freely,* and *act* so too; and take nothing ill where no ill is meant; nay, where it is, 'twill *easily* forgive, and forget too, upon small Acknowledgments.

108. Friends are true *Twins* in Soul; they Sympathize in every thing, and have the Love and Aversion.

109. One is not happy without the other, nor can either of them be miserable *alone.* As if they could change *Bodies,* they take their *Turns* in Pain as well as in Pleasure; *relieving* one another in their most adverse Conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot Want. Like the Primitive Christians, they have all things in common, and no *Property but in one another.*

QUALITIES OF A FRIEND

111. A true Friend unbosoms *freely,* advises *justly,* assists *readily,* adventures *boldly,* takes all *patiently,* defends *courageously,* and continues a Friend *unchangeably.*

112. These being the Qualities of a Friend, we are to find them before we chuse one.

113. The *Covetous,* the *Angry,* the *Proud,* the *Jealous,* the *Talkative,* cannot but make ill Friends, as well as the *False.*

114. In short, chuse a Friend as thou dost a Wife, *till Death separate you.*

115. Yet be not a Friend beyond the *Altar:* But let *Virtue* bound thy Friendship: Else it is not Friendship, but an Evil Confederacy.

116. If my *Brother* or *Kinsman* will be my Friend, I ought to prefer him before a Stranger, or I shew little Duty or *Nature* to my *Parents.*

117. And as we ought to prefer our *Kindred* in Point of Affection, so too in Point of *Charity,* if *equally* needing and deserving.

CAUTION AND CONDUCT

118. Be not *easily* acquainted, lest finding Reason to cool, thou makest an *Enemy* instead of a good Neighbour.

119. Be Reserved, but not *Sour;* Grave, but not *Formal;* Bold, but not *Rash;* Humble, but not *Servile;* Patient, not *Insensible;* Constant, not *Obstinate;* Chearful, not *Light:* Rather Sweet than *Familiar; Familiar,* than *Intimate;* and Intimate with *very few,* and upon *very good Grounds.*

120. *Return* the Civilities thou receivest, and be *ever* grateful for Favours.

REPARATION

121. If thou hast done an Injury to another, rather own it than defend it. One way thou gainest Forgiveness, the other, thou *doubl'st* the Wrong and Reckoning.

122. Some oppose *Honour* to *Submission:* But it can be no Honour to maintain what it is dishonourable to do.

123. To confess a Fault, that is none, out of Fear, is indeed *mean:* But not to be afraid of standing in one, is *Brutish.*

124. We should make more *Haste* to Right our Neighbour, than we do to wrong him, and instead of being Vindicative, we should leave him to be *Judge* of his own Satisfaction.

125. True Honour will pay *treble* Damages, rather than justifie *one* Wrong by *another.*

126. In such Controversies, it is but too common for some to say, *Both are to blame,* to *excuse* their own *Unconcernedness,* which is a *base Neutrality.* Others will cry, *They are both alike;* thereby involv-

ing the Injured with the Guilty, to *mince* the Matter for the Faulty, or cover their own Injustice to the wronged Party.

127. *Fear* and *Gain* are great Perverters of Mankind, and where either prevail, the *Judgment* is violated.

RULES OF CONVERSATION

128. Avoid *Company* where it is not *profitable* or necessary; and in those Occasions speak *little,* and *last.*

129. *Silence* is Wisdom, where Speaking is *Folly;* and always safe.

130. Some are so Foolish as to interrupt and anticipate those that speak, instead of hearing and thinking before they answer; which is uncivil as well as silly.

131. If thou thinkest twice, before thou speakest once, *thou* wilt speak twice the better for it.

132. Better say nothing than not to the Purpose. And to speak pertinently, consider both what is fit, and when it is fit to speak.

133. In all Debates, let *Truth* be thy Aim, not Victory, or an unjust Interest: And endeavour to *gain,* rather than to expose thy Antagonist.

134. Give no Advantage in Argument, nor *lose* any that is offered. This is a Benefit which arises from *Temper.*

135. Don't use thy self to dispute *against* thine own Judgment, to shew *Wit,* lest it prepare thee to be too *indifferent* about what is *Right:* Nor against another Man, to *vex* him, or for meer Trial of Skill; since to *inform,* or to be *informed,* ought to be the *End* of all Conferences.

136. Men are too apt to be concerned for their *Credit,* more than for the Cause.

ELOQUENCE

137. There is a Truth and Beauty in *Rhetorick;* but it oftener serves *ill* Turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy, is a *good Meen* and *Address* given to Matter, be it by proper or figurative Speech: Where the Words are apt, and Allusions very natural, Certainly it has a moving Grace: But it is too *artificial* for Simplicity, and oftentimes for Truth. The Danger is, lest it delude the Weak, who in such Cases may *mistake* the *Handmaid* for the Mistress, if not *Error* for Truth.

139. 'Tis certain Truth is least indebted to it, because she has *least need* of it, and least uses it.

140. But it is a *reprovable* Delicacy in them that despise Truth in *plain Cloths.*

141. Such *Luxuriants* have but false Appetites; like those Gluttons, that by Sawces *force* them, where they have no Stomach, and Sacrifice to their *Pallate,* not their Health: Which cannot be without great Vanity, nor That without some *Sin.*

TEMPER

142. Nothing does Reason more Right, than the *Coolness* of those that offer it: For Truth often suffers more by the *Heat* of its Defenders, than from the Arguments of its Opposers.

143. *Zeal* ever follows an Appearance of Truth, and the Assured are too apt to be *warm;* but 'tis their weak side in Argument; Zeal being better shewn against *Sin,* than Persons or their Mistakes.

TRUTH

144. Where thou art Obliged to speak, be sure speak the Truth: For Equivocation is *half way* to Lying, as Lying, the *whole way to Hell.*

JUSTICE

145. Believe nothing against another but upon *good* Authority: Nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a *greater* hurt to others to conceal it.

SECRECY

146. It is *wise* not to *seek* a Secret, and *honest* not to *reveal* one.

147. Only trust thy *self* and another shall not betray thee.

148. *Openness* has the *Mischief,* though not the *Malice* of Treachery.

COMPLACENCY

149. Never assent meerly to *please* others. For that is, besides Flattery, oftentimes Untruth; and discovers a Mind *liable* to be servile and base: Nor contradict to *vex* others, for that shows an *ill* Temper, and provokes, but profits no Body.

SHIFTS

150. Do not accuse others to *excuse* thy self; for that is neither Generous nor Just. But let *Sincerity* and *Ingenuity* be thy Refuge, rather than Craft and Falsehood: *For Cunning borders very near upon Knavery.*

151. *Wisdom* never uses nor wants it. *Cunning* to *Wise,* is as an *Ape* to a Man.

INTEREST

152. *Interest* has the *Security,* tho' not the *Virtue* of a Principle. As the World goes 'tis the *surer* side; For Men daily leave both Relations and Religion to follow it.

153. 'Tis an odd Sight, but very evident, That Families and Nations, of cross Religions and Humours, *unite* against those of their *own,* where they find an *Interest* to do it.

154. We are tied down by our *Senses* to this World; and where that is in Question, it can be none with Worldly Men, whether they should not forsake all other Considerations for it.

INQUIRY

155. Have a care of *Vulgar Errors.* Dislike, as well as Allow *Reasonably.*

156. Inquiry is *Human;* Blind Obedience, *Brutal.* Truth never loses by the one, but often suffers by the other.

157. The usefulest Truths are *plainest:* And while we keep to them, our Differences canont rise high.

158. There may be a *Wantonness* in Search, as well as a Stupidity in Trusting. It is great Wisdom *equally* to avoid the Extreams.

RIGHT-TIMING

159. Do nothing *improperly.* Some are Witty, Kind, Cold, Angry, Easie, Stiff, Jealous, Careless, Cautious, Confident, Close, Open, but all in the *wrong Place.*

160. It is ill mistaking where the *Matter* is of *Importance.*

161. It is not enough that a thing be *Right,* if it be not *fit* to be done. If not Imprudent, tho' Just, it is *not* advisable. He that loses by getting, had *better* lose than get.

KNOWLEDGE

162. *Knowledge* is the *Treasure,* but *Judgment* the Treasurer of a Wise Man.

163. He that has more Knowledge than Judgment, is made for *another Man's* use more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good Constitution, where the Appetite is great and the Digestion is weak.

165. There are some Men like *Dictionaries;* to be lookt into upon occasions, but have no Connection, and are little entertaining.

166. Less Knowledge than Judgment will always have the advantage upon the *Injudicious* knowing Man.

167. A Wise Man makes what he learns his *own,* 'tother shews he's but a *Copy,* or a Collection at most.

WIT

168. *Wit* is an happy and striking way of expressing a Thought.

169. 'Tis not often tho' it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great Body with it.

170. Wit therefore is fitter for Diversion than Business, being more grateful to Fancy than Judgment.

171. Less Judgment than Wit, is *more Sale than Ballast.*

172. Yet it must be confessed, that Wit gives an *Edge* to Sense, and recommends it extreamly.

173. Where Judgment has Wit to express it, there's the *best* Orator.

OBEDIENCE TO PARENTS

174. If thou wouldest be obeyed, being a Father; being a Son, be *Obedient.*

175. He that begets thee, *owes* thee; and has a natural Right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy *Parents;* next them, the *Magistrate.*

177. Remember that thou are not more indebted to thy Parents for thy *Nature,* than for thy *Love* and *Care.*

178. *Rebellion* therefore in Children, was made *Death* by God's Law, and the next Sin to *Idolatry,* in the People; which is *renouncing* of God, the *Parent* of all.

179. *Obedience* to Parents is not only our Duty, but our *Interest.* If we received our Life from them, We prolong it by obeying them: For *Obedience* is the first Commandment with *Promise.*

180. The *Obligation* is as indissolvable as the Relation.

181. If we must not disobey God to obey them; at least we must let them see, that there is *nothing else* in our Refusal. For some unjust Commands cannot excuse the general Neglect of our Duty. They will be our Parents and we must be their Children still: And if we cannot act for them against God, neither can we act against them for ourselves or anything else.

BEARING

182. A Man in Business must put up many Affronts, if he loves his own Quiet.

183. We must not pretend to see all that we see, if we would be *easie.*

184. It were *endless* to dispute upon everything that is *disputable.*

185. A *vindictive* Temper is not only *uneasie* to others, but to them that have it.

PROMISING

186. *Rarely* Promise: But, if Lawful, *constantly* perform.

187. Hasty Resolutions are of the Nature of *Vows;* and to be equally avoided.

188. I will never do this, says one, *yet does it:* I am resolved to do this, says another; but flags upon second Thoughts: Or does it, tho' awkwardly, for his Word's sake: As if it were *worse* to break his Word, than to do amiss in keeping it.

189. Wear none of thine *own Chains;* but keep free, whilst thou art free.

190. It is an Effect of *Passion* that Wisdom corrects, to lay thy self under Resolutions that cannot be *well* made, and must be *worse* performed.

FIDELITY

191. Avoid all thou canst to be *Entrusted:* But do thy *utmost* to discharge the Trust thou undertakest: For Carelessness is *Injurious,* if not Unjust.

192. The Glory of a Servant is *Fidelity;* which cannot be without Diligence, as well as Truth.

193. *Fidelity* has *Enfranchised* Slaves, and *Adopted* Servants to be *Sons.*

194. Reward a good Servant well: And rather quit than *Disquiet* thy self with an ill one.

MASTER

195. Mix *Kindness* with Authority: and rule more by *Discretion* than Rigour.

196. If thy Servant be faulty, strive rather to convince him of his Error, than discover thy *Passion.* And when he is sensible, *forgive* him.

197. Remember he is thy *Fellow-Creature,* and that God's *Goodness,* not thy Merit, has made the Difference betwixt Thee and Him.

198. Let not thy Children *Domineer* over thy Servants: Nor suffer them to *slight* thy Children.

199. Suppress Tales in the general: But where a Matter requires notice, encourage the Complaint, and right the Aggrieved.

200. If a Child, he ought to *Entreat,* and not to *Command;* and if a Servant, *to comply* where he does not obey.

201. Tho' there should be but one Master and Mistress in a Family, yet Servants should know that Children have the *Reversion.*

SERVANT

202. Indulge not *unseemly* Things in thy Master's Children, nor refuse them what is *fitting.* For one is the *highest Unfaithfulness,* and the other *Indiscretion* as well as Disrespect.

203. Do thine own Work honestly and chearfully. And when that is done, help thy Fellow; that so another time he may help thee.

204. If thou wilt be a *Good* Servant, thou must be *True;* and thou canst not be True if thou *Defraud'st* thy Master.

205. A Master may be Defrauded many ways by a Servant: As in *Time, Care, Pains, Money, Trust.*

206. But, a *True* Servant is the *Contrary:* He's *Diligent, Careful, Trusty.* He Tells no *Tales,* Reveals no *Secrets,* Refuses no *Pains:* Not to be tempted by *Gain,* nor aw'd by *Fear,* to *Unfaithfulness.*

207. Such a Servant, serves *God* in serving his Master; and has *double* Wages for his Work, to wit, *Here* and *Hereafter.*

JEALOUS

208. Be not *fancifully* Jealous: For that is *Foolish;* as, to be *reasonably* so, is *Wise.*

209. He that *superfines* up another Man's Actions, cozens *himself,* as well as injures them.

210. To be very subtil and scrupulous in Business, is as hurtful, as being over-confident and secure.

211. In difficult Cases, such a Temper is *Timorous;* and in dispatch *Irresolute.*

212. *Experience* is a safe Guide: And a *Practical Head,* is a great Happiness in Business.

POSTERITY

213. We are too *careless* of *Posterity;* not considering that as they are, so the next Generation will be.

214. If we would amend the World, we should mend *Our selves;* and teach our Children to be, not what we are, but what they should be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and turn up their Passions by the Examples of our own; and to teach them to be pleased, not with what is best, but with what *pleases best.*

216. It is our Duty, and ought to be our Care, to ward against that Passion in them, which is more especially our *Own* Weakness and Affliction: for we are in great measure accountable for them, as well as for our selves.

217. We are in this also true *Turners of the World upside down:* For Money is first, and Virtue last, and least in our care.

218. It is not *How* we leave our Children, but *What* we leave them.

219. To be sure *Virtue* is but a Supplement, and not a *Principal* in their Portion and Charter: And therefore we see so little *Wisdom* or *Goodness* among the Rich, in proportion to their *Wealth.*

A COUNTRY LIFE

220. The *Country* Life is to be *preferr'd*; for there we see the Works of *God;* but in Cities little else but the *Works of Men:* And the one makes a better Subject for our Contemplation than the other.

221. As *Puppets* are to Men, and *Babies* to Children, so is Man's Workmanship to God's: We are the *Picture,* he the *Reality.*

222. God's Works declare his *Power, Wisdom* and *Goodness;* but Man's Works, for the most part, his *Pride, Folly* and *Excess.* The one is for *use,* the other, chiefly, for *Ostentation* and *Lust.*

223. The *Country* is both the Philosopher's *Garden* and his *Library,* in which he Reads and Contemplates the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God.

224. It is his *Food* as well as *Study;* and gives him *Life,* as well as *Learning.*

225. A Sweet and Natural Retreat from Noise and Talk, and allows opportunity for Reflection, and gives the best Subjects for it.

226. In short, 'tis an Original, and the Knowledge and Improvement of it, Man's oldest Business and Trade, and the best he can be of.

ART AND PROJECT

227. *Art,* is Good, where it is beneficial. *Socrates* wisely bounded his Knowledge and Instruction by *Practice.*

228. Have a care therefore of *Projects:* And yet despise nothing rashly, or in the *Lump.*

229. *Ingenuity,* as well as *Religion,* sometimes suffers between two *Thieves; Pretenders* and *Despisers.*

230. Though injudicious and dishonest Projecters often discredit Art, yet the most *useful* and *extraordinary* Inventions have not, at first, escap'd the Scorn of *Ignorance;* as their Authors, rarely, have cracking of their Heads, or breaking their backs.

231. Undertake no Experiment, in Speculation, that appears not *true in Art;* nor then, at thine *own* Cost, if costly or hazardous in making.

232. As many Hands make light Work, so *several Purses* make *cheap* Experiments.

INDUSTRY

233. *Industry,* is certainly very commendable, and *supplies* the want of Parts.

234. *Patience* and *Diligence,* like Faith, *remove Mountains.*

235. Never give out while there is *Hope;* but hope not beyond Reason, for that shews more Desire than Judgment.

236. It is profitable Wisdom to know when we have done enough: Much Time and Pains are spared, in not flattering our selves against Probabilities.

TEMPORAL HAPPINESS

237. Do *Good* with what thou hast, or it will do thee *no good.*

238. Seek not to be Rich, but *Happy.* The one lies in *Bags,* the other in *Content:* which Wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call things by *wrong* Names. We will have Prosperity to be Happiness, and Adversity to be Misery; though that is the *School* of Wisdom, and oftentimes the way to *Eternal* Happiness.

240. If thou wouldest be Happy, bring thy Mind to thy *Condition,* and have an *Indifferency* for more than what is *sufficient.*

241. Have but *little to do,* and *do it thy self:* And do to others as thou wouldest have them *do to thee:* So, thou canst not fail of Temporal Felicity.

242. The generality are the *worse* for their *Plenty:* The Voluptuous *consumes* it, the Miser *hides* it: 'Tis the good Man that uses it, and to good Purposes. But such are hardly found among the Prosperous.

243. Be rather *Bountiful,* than Expensive.

244. Neither make nor go to *Feasts,* but let the *laborious Poor* bless thee at Home in their Solitary Cottages.

245. Never voluntarily *want* what thou hast in Possession; nor *so* spend it as to involve thyself in want *unavoidable.*

246. Be not tempted to *presume* by Success: For many that have got largely, have lost all, by *coveting* to get more.

247. To *hazard much* to get much, has more of *Averice* than Wisdom.

248. It is great Prudence both to *Bound* and *Use* Prosperity.

249. Too few know when they have *Enough;* and fewer know *how* to employ it.

250. It is equally adviseable not to part *lightly* with what is hardly gotten, and not to shut up *closely* what *flows* in freely.

251. Act not the *Shark* upon thy Neighbours; nor take Advantage of the *Ignorance, Prodigality* or *Necessity* of any one: For that is next door to *Fraud,* and, at best, makes but an *Unblest* Gain.

252. It is oftentimes the *Judgment* of God upon Greedy Rich Men, that he suffers them to push on their Desires of Wealth to the Excess of over-reaching, grinding or oppression, which *poisons* all the rest they have gotten: So that it commonly runs away as fast, and by as bad ways as it was heap'd up together.

RESPECT

253. Never esteem *any* Man, or thy self, the *more* for Money; nor think the *meaner* of thy self or another for *want* of it: *Vertue* being the just Reason of *respecting,* and the want of it, of *slighting* any one.

254. A Man like a *Watch,* is to be valued for his *Goings.*

255. He that prefers him upon other accounts, bows to an *Idol.*

256. Unless Virtue guide us, our Choice must be wrong.

257. An able bad Man, is an ill Instrument, and to be shunned as the Plague.

258. Be not deceived with the first appearances of things, but give thy self *Time* to be in the right.

259. Show, is not Substance: *Realities* Govern Wise Men.

260. Have a Care therefore where there is more Sail than Ballast.

HAZARD

261. In all Business it is best to put nothing to hazard: But where it is unavoidable, be not *rash,* but *firm* and *resign'd.*

262. We should not be troubled for what we cannot help: But if it was our Fault, let it be so *no more.* Amendment is *Repentance,* if not Reparation.

263. As a *Desperate* Game needs an *able* Gamester, so *Consideration* often would *prevent,* what the best skill in the World *Cannot Recover.*

264. Where the Probability of Advantage *exceeds not* that of Loss, Wisdom *never* Adventures.

265. To Shoot well *Flying* is well; but to *Chose* it, has more of *Vanity* than Judgment.

266. To be *Dextrous* in Danger is a Virtue; but to *Court* Danger to show it, is *Weakness.*

DETRACTION

267. Have a care of that base Evil *Detraction.* It is the Fruit of Envy, as that is of Pride; the immediate Off-spring of the *Devil:* Who, of an *Angel,* a *Lucifer,* a *Son* of the Morning, made himself a *Serpent,* a *Devil,* a *Beelzebub,* and all that is obnoxious to the Eternal Goodness.

268. Vertue is not secure against *Envy.* Men will *Lessen* what they won't *Imitate.*

269. *Dislike* what deserves it, but never *Hate:* For that is of the Nature of Malice; which is almost ever to *Persons,* not Things, and is one of the *blackest* Qualities *Sin* begets in the Soul.

MODERATION

270. It were an happy Day if Men could *bound* and qualifie their Resentments with *Charity* to the Offender: For then our Anger would be *without Sin,* and better convict and edifie the Guilty; which *alone* can make it lawful.

271. Not to be provok'd is best: But if mov'd, never correct till the *Fume is spent;* For every Stroke our Fury strikes, is sure to hit our selves at last.

272. If we did but observe the Allowances our Reason makes upon Reflection, when our Passion is over, we could not want a *Rule* how to behave our selves again in the like Occasions.

273. We are more prone to *Complain* than Redress, and to Censure than Excuse.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can so often Blame what we will not *once mend.* It shews, we know, *but will not do our Master's Will.*

275. They that censure, should *Practice:* Or else let them have the *first* stone, and the *last* too.

TRICK

276. Nothing needs a Trick but a *Trick;* Sincerity *loathes* one.

277. We must take care to do Right Things *Rightly:* For a just Sentence may be *unjustly* executed.

278. *Circumstances* give great Light to true Judgment, if well weigh'd.

PASSION

279. *Passion* is a sort of *Fever* in the Mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us.

280. But being, intermitting to be sure, 'tis curable with care.

281. It more than any thing deprives us of the use of our *Judgment;* for it raises a *Dust* very hard to see through.

282. Like Wine, whose *Lees* fly by being *jogg'd,* it is too muddy to Drink.

283. It may not unfitly be termed the *Mob* of the Man, that commits a *Riot* upon his Reason.

284. I have sometimes thought, that a Passionate Man is like a *weak Spring* that cannot stand *long lock'd.*

285. And as true, that those things are unfit for use, that can't bear small Knocks, without breaking.

286. He that won't hear *can't Judge,* and he that can't bear Contradiction, may, with all his Wit, miss the Mark.

287. Objection and Debate Sift out Truth, which needs Temper as well as Judgment.

288. But above all, observe it in Resentments, for their Passion is most Extravagant.

289. Never chide for Anger, but *Instruction.*

290. He that corrects out of Passion, raises Revenge sooner than Repentance.

291. It has more of *Wantonness* than Wisdom, and resembles those that Eat to please their *Pallate,* rather than their Appetite.

292. It is the difference between a Wise and a Weak Man; This Judges by the *Lump,* that by *Parts* and their *Connection.*

293. The Greeks use to say, all Cases are governed by their Circumstances. The same thing may be well and ill as they change or vary the Matter.

294. A Man's Strength is shewn by his Bearing. *Bonum Agere, & Male Pati, Regis est.*

PERSONAL CAUTIONS

295. Reflect without Malice but never without *Need.*

296. Despise no Body, nor no Condition; lest it come to be thine own.

297. Never Rail nor Taunt. The one is Rude, the other Scornful, and both Evil.

298. Be not provoked by Injuries, to *commit* them.

299. Upbraid only *Ingratitude.*

300. Haste makes Work which *Caution* prevents.

301. Tempt no Man; lest thou *fall* for it.

302. Have a care of presuming upon *After-Games:* For if that miss, all is *gone.*

303. *Opportunities* should never be *lost,* because they can hardly be regained.

304. It is well to cure, but better to *prevent* a Distemper. The first shows more Skill, but the last more *Wisdom.*

305. Never make a *Tryal* of *Skill* in difficult or *hazardous* Cases.

306. Refuse not to be informed: For that shews Pride or Stupidity.

307. Humility and Knowledge in poor Cloaths, excel Pride and Ignorance in costly Attire.

308. Neither despise, nor oppose, what thou dost not understand.

BALLANCE

309. We must not be concern'd above the Value of the thing that engages us; nor raised *above* Reason, in maintaining what we think reasonable.

310. It is too common an Error, to invert the Order of Things; by making an *End* of that which is a *Means,* and a *Means* of that which is an *End.*

311. *Religion* and *Government* escape not this Mischief: The first is too often made a *Means* instead of an End; the other an *End* instead of a Means.

312. Thus Men seek Wealth rather than Subsistence; and the End of Cloaths is the least Reason of their Use. Nor is the satisfying of our Appetite our End in Eating, so much as the pleasing of our Pallate. The like may also be said of Building, Furniture, *&c.* where the Man rules not the Beast, and Appetite submits not to Reason.

313. It is great Wisdom to proportion our Esteem to the Nature of the Thing: For as that way things will not be undervalued, so neither will they engage as *above* their intrinsick worth.

314. If we suffer little Things to have great hold upon us, we shall be as *much* transported for them, as if they deserv'd it.

315. It is an old Proverb, *Maxima bella ex levissimis causis:* The greatest Feuds have had the smallest Beginnings.

316. No matter what the Subject of the Dispute be, but what place we give it in our Minds: For that governs our Concern and Resentment.

317. It is one of the fatalest Errors of our Lives, when we spoil a good Cause by an ill Management: And it is not impossible but we may *mean well* in an *ill Business;* but that will not defend it.

318. If we are but sure the End is Right, we are too apt to gallop over all Bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful Ends may be very *unlawfully* attained.

319. Let us be careful to take *just* ways to compass just Things; that they may *last* in their Benefits to us.

320. There is a troublesome Humour some Men have, that if they may not lead, *they will not follow;* but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, tho' other ways very desirable.

321. This comes of an *over-fulness* of our selves; and shows we are more concern'd for *Praise,* than the *Success* of what we think a good Thing.

POPULARITY

322. Affect not to be seen, and Men will *less* see thy Weakness.

323. They that shew more than they are, raise an Expectation they cannot answer; and so lose their Credit, as soon as they are *found out.*

324. Avoid *Popularity.* It has many Snares, and no real Benefit to thy self; and Uncertainty to others.

PRIVACY

325. Remember the Proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit.* They are happy that live Retiredly.

326. If this be true, *Princes* and their Grandees, of all Men, are the unhappiest: For they live least *alone:* And they that must be enjoyed by every Body, can never enjoy themselves as they should.

327. It is the *Advantage* little Men have upon them; they can be *Private,* and have *leisure* for Family Comforts, which are the greatest worldly Contents Men can enjoy.

328. But they that place Pleasure in *Greediness,* seek it there: And we see *Rule* is as much the Ambition of some Natures, as *Privacy* is the Choice of others.

GOVERNMENT

329. Government has many Shapes: But 'tis *Sovereignty,* tho' not Freedom, in all of them.

330. *Rex & Tyrannus* are very different Characters: One rules his People by Laws, to which they consent; the other by his absolute Will and Power. That is call'd *Freedom,* This *Tyranny.*

331. The first is endanger'd by the Ambition of the *Popular,* which shakes the Constitution: The other by an ill Administration, which hazards the Tyrant and his Family.

332. It is great Wisdom in Princes of both sorts, not to *strain Points* too high with their People: For whether the People have a Right to oppose them or not, they are ever sure to attempt it, when things are carried too far; though the Remedy oftentimes proves worse than the Disease.

333. Happy that King who is great by *Justice,* and that People who are free by *Obedience.*

334. Where the Ruler is Just, he may be *strict;* else it is *two* to *one* it turns upon him: And tho' he should prevail, he can be no Gainer, *where his People are the Losers.*

335. Princes must not have *Passions* in Government, nor Resent beyond Interest and Religion.

336. Where Example *keeps pace* with Authority, Power hardly fails to be obey'd, and Magistrates to be *honour'd.*

337. Let the People think they Govern and they will be Govern'd.

338. This cannot fail, if Those they Trust, are Trusted.

339. That Prince that is Just to them in great things, and Humours them sometimes in small ones, is sure to have and keep them from all the World.

340. For the People is the Politick Wife of the Prince, that may be better managed by Wisdom, than ruled by Force.

341. But where the Magistrate is partial and serves ill turns, he loses his Authority with the People; and gives the Populace opportunity to gratifie their Ambition: And to lay a *Stumbling-block* for his People to fall.

342. It is true, that where a Subject is more Popular than the Prince, the Prince is in Danger: But it is as true, that it is his *own Fault:* For no Body has the like *Means, Interest* or *Reason,* to be popular as He.

343. It is an unaccountable thing, that some Princes incline rather to be *fear'd than lov'd;* when they see, that Fear does not oftener secure a Prince against the Dissatisfaction of his People, than Love makes a Subject *too many* for such a Prince.

344. Certainly Service upon *Inclination* is like to go *farther* than Obedience upon Compulsion.

345. The *Romans* had a just Sense of this, when they plac'd *Optimus* before *Maximus,* to their most Illustrious *Captains* and *Cesars.*

346. Besides, Experience tells us, That Goodness raises a *nobler* Passion in the Soul, and gives a *better* Sense of Duty than Severity.

347. What did *Pharaoh* get by increasing the *Israelites* Task? *Ruine* to himself in the End.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, should imitate God: *Their Mercy should be above all their Works.*

349. The Difference between the *Prince* and the *Peasant,* is in this World: But a *Temper* ought to be observ'd by him that has the Advantage here, because of the Judgment in the next.

350. The End of every thing should direct the Means: Now that of Government being the *Good of the whole,* nothing less should be the *Aim* of the Prince.

351. As often as Rulers endeavour to attain just Ends by just *Mediums,* they are sure of a *quiet* and easy Government; and as sure of Convulsions, where the *Nature* of things are violated, and their *Order* overrul'd.

352. It is certain, Princes ought to have great *Allowances* made them for Faults in Government; since they see by other People's Eyes, and hear by their Ears. But *Ministers of State,* their immediate Confidents and Instruments, have much to answer for, if to gratifie private Passions, they misguide the Prince to do publick Injury.

353. Ministers of State should undertake their Posts at *their Peril.* If Princes overrule them, let them shew the *Law,* and humbly *resign:* If *Fear Gain* or *Flattery* prevail, let them answer it to the Law.

354. The Prince cannot be preserv'd, but where the Minister is punishable: For People, as well as Princes, will not endure *Imperium in Imperio.*

355. If Ministers are weak or ill Men, and so spoil their Places, it is the *Prince's* Fault that chose them: But if their Places spoil them, it is *their own Fault* to be made worse by them.

356. It is but just that those that reign by their Princes, should suffer for their Princes: For it is a safe and necessary Maxim, not to shift Heads in Government, while the Hands are in being that should answer for them.

357. And yet it were *intolerable* to be a Minister of State, if every Body may be Accuser and Judge.

358. Let therefore the *false Accuser* no more escape an exemplary Punishment, than the Guilty Minister.

359. For it *profanes* Government to have the *Credit* of the leading Men in it, subject to *vulgar* Censure; which is often *ill grounded.*

360. The Safety of a Prince, therefore consists in a well-chosen Council: And that only can be said to be so, where the Persons that compose it are *qualified* for the Business that comes before them.

361. Who would send to a *Taylor* to make a *Lock,* or to a *Smith* to make a *suit of Cloaths?*

362. Let there be *Merchants* for Trade, *Seamen* for the Admiralty, *Travellers* for Foreign Affairs, some of the *Leading Men* of the Country for Home-Business, and *Common* and *Civil Lawyers* to advise of *Legality* and *Right:* Who should always keep to the strict Rules of *Law.*

363. Three Things contribute much to ruin Governments; *Looseness, Oppression* and *Envy.*

364. Where the Reins of Government are too *slack,* there the Manners of the People are *corrupted:* And that destroys Industry, begets Effeminacy, and provokes *Heaven* against it.

365. *Oppression* makes a *Poor* Country, and a *Desperate* People, who always wait an Opportunity to *change.*

366. *He that ruleth over Men, must be just, ruling in the Fear of God,* said an old and a wise King.

367. *Envy disturbs* and distracts Government, clogs the Wheels, and perplexes the Administration: And nothing contributes more to the Disorder, than a *partial* distribution of Rewards and Punishments in the Sovereign.

368. As it is not reasonable that Men should be compell'd to serve; so those that have Employments should not be endured to leave them humourously.

369. Where the State intends a Man no Affront, he should not Affront the State.

A PRIVATE LIFE

370. A private Life is to be preferr'd; the Honour and Gain of publick Posts, bearing no proportion with the Comfort of it. The one is *free* and *quiet,* the other *servile* and *noisy.*

371. It was a great Answer of the *Shunamite* Woman, *I dwell among my own People.*

372. They that live of their *own,* neither need, nor often list to wear the *Livery* of the Publick.

373. Their Subsistance is not *during Pleasure;* nor have they patrons to please or present.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be *disgraced.* And as they know not the Smiles of Majesty, so they *feel not* the Frowns of Greatness; or the Effects of Envy.

375. If they want the Pleasures of a Court, they also escape the *Temptations* of it.

376. Private Men, in fine, are so much their own, that paying common Dues, they are *Sovereigns* of all the rest.

A PUBLICK LIFE

377. Yet the Publick must and will be served; and they that do it well, deserve publick Marks of Honour and Profit.

378. To do so, Men must have *publick Minds,* as well as Salaries; or they will serve *private Ends* at the Publick Cost.

379. Governments can never be well administered, but where those entrusted make *Conscience* of well discharging their Place.

QUALIFICATIONS

380. Five Things are requisite to a good Officer; *Ability, Clean Hands, Dispatch, Patience and Impartiality.*

CAPACITY

381. He that understands not his Employment, whatever else he knows, must be unfit for it, and the Publick suffers by his Inexpertness.

382. They that are able, should be *just* too; or the Government may be the *worse* for the Capacity.

CLEAN HANDS

383. *Covetousness* in such Men prompts them to prostitute the Publick for Gain.

384. The taking of a *Bribe* or *Gratuity,* should be punished with as severe Penalties, as the defrauding of the State.

385. Let Men have sufficient Salaries, and exceed them at their *Peril.*

386. It is a Dishonour to Government, that its Officers should live of Benevolence; as it ought to be Infamous for Officers to dishonour the Publick, by being *twice* paid for the same Business.

387. But to be paid, and not to do Business, is *rank* Oppression.

DISPATCH

388. *Dispatch* is a great and good quality in an Officer; where Duty, not Gain, excites it. But of this, too many make their private Market and *Overplus* to their Wages. Thus the Salary is for *doing,* and the *Bribe* for *dispatching* the Business: As if Business could be done before it were dispatched: Or what ought to be done, ought not to be dispatch'd: Or they were to be paid apart, one by the Government, t'other by the Party.

389. *Dispatch* is as much the Duty of an Officer, as doing; and very much the *Honour* of the Government he serves.

390. *Delays* have been *more injurious* than direct Injustice.

391. They too often starve those they dare not deny.

392. The very Winner is made a *Loser,* because he pay *twice* for his own; like those that purchase Estates Mortgaged before to the full Value.

393. Our Law says well, to delay Justice is Injustice.

394. Not to have a Right, and not to come at it, differs little.

395. Refuse or Dispatch is the Duty and Wisdom of a good Officer.

PATIENCE

396. *Patience* is a Virtue every where; but it *shines* with great Lustre in the Men of Government.

397. Some are so Proud or Testy, they won't hear what they should redress.

398. Others so weak, they sink or burst under the weight of their Office, though they can lightly *run away* with the Salary of it.

399. Business can never be well done, that is not well understood: Which cannot be without Patience.

400. It is Cruelty indeed not to give the Unhappy an *Hearing,* whom we ought to help: But it is the top of Oppression to *Browbeat* the humble and modest Miserable, when they seek Relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreasonable in their Desires and Hopes: But then we should inform, not *rail* at and *reject* them.

402. It is therefore as great an Instance of Wisdom as a Man in Business can give, to be *Patient under the Impertinencies and Contradictions that attend it.*

403. *Method* goes far to prevent Trouble in Business: For it makes the Task easy, hinders Confusion, saves abundance of Time, and instructs those that have Business depending, both what to do and what to hope.

IMPARTIALITY

404. *Impartiality,* though it be the last, is not the least Part of the Character of a good Magistrate.

405. It is noted as a Fault, in *Holy Writ,* even to regard the *Poor:* How much more the *Rich* in Judgment?

406. If our *Compassions* must not sway us; less should our Fears, Profits or Prejudices.

407. Justice is justly represented *Blind,* because she sees no Difference in the Parties concerned.

408. She has but one *Scale and Weight,* for Rich and Poor, Great and Small.

409. Her Sentence is not guided by the Person, but the *Cause.*

410. The *Impartial* Judge in Judgment, knows nothing but the Law: The Prince *no more* than the Peasant, his Kindred than a Stranger. Nay, his *Enemy* is sure to be upon equal Terms with his Friend, when he is upon the Bench.

411. Impartiality is the *Life* of Justice, as that is of Government.

412. Nor is it only a Benefit to the State, for private Families cannot subsist comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are partial, are ill obeyed by their Children; and partial Masters not better served by their Servants.

414. Partiality is always *Indirect,* if not Dishonest: For it shews *a Byass* where Reason would have none; if not an *Injury,* which Justice every where forbids.

415. As it makes Favourites without Reason, so it uses no Reason in judging of Actions: Confirming the proverb, *The Crow thinks her own bird the fairest.*

416. What some see to be no Fault in one, they will have *Criminal* in another.

417. Nay, how *ugly* do our own Failings look to us in the Persons of *others,* which yet we see not in our selves.

418. And but too common it is for some People, not to know their *own Maxims* and *Principles* in the *Mouths* of other Men, when they give occasion to use them.

419. *Partiality* corrupts our Judgment of Persons and things, of our selves and others.

420. It contributes more than any thing to *Factions* in Government, and *Fewds* in Families.

421. It is prodigal Passion, that seldom returns 'till it is *Hunger-bit,* and Disappointments bring it within bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a *Fault.*

INDIFFERENCY

423. *Indifference* is good in Judgment, but bad in *Relation,* and stark nought in *Religion.*

424. And even in Judgment, our Indifferency must be to the *Persons,* not Causes: For one, to be sure, is right.

NEUTRALITY

425. *Neutrality* is something else than Indifferency; and yet of kin to it too.

426. A Judge ought to be Indifferent, and yet he cannot be said to be Neutral.

427. The one being to be *Even* in Judgment, and the other *not to meddle at all.*

428. And where it is Lawful, to be sure, it is best to be *Neutral.*

429. He that espouses Parties, can hardly divorce himself from their Fate; and more *fall* with their Party than rise with it.

430. A wise Neuter joins with neither; but *uses* both, as his honest Interest leads him.

431. A *Neuter* only has room to be a *Peace-maker:* For being of neither side, he has the Means of mediating a *Reconciliation* of both.

432. And yet, where *Right* or *Religion* gives a *Call,* a Neuter must be a *Coward* or an *Hypocrite.*

433. In such Cases we should never be backward; nor yet mistaken.

434. When our *Right* or *Religion* is in question, *then* is the fittest time to assert it.

435. Nor must we always be Neutral where our Neighbours are concerned: For tho' *Medling* is a *Fault, Helping* is a *Duty.*

436. We have a *Call* to do good, as often as we have the *Power* and *Occasion.*

437. If Heathens could say, *We are not born for our selves;* surely Christians should *practise* it.

438. They are taught so by his Example, as well as Doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their Name.

OSTENTATION

439. Do what good thou canst unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt, than seen.

440. The *Humble,* in the Parable of the Day of Judgment, *forgot* their good Works; *Lord, when did we do so and so?*

441. He that does Good, for Good's sake, seeks neither *Praise* nor *Reward;* tho' *sure* of both at last.

COMPLEAT VIRTUE

442. Content not thy self that thou art Virtuous in the general: For *one Link* being wanting, the Chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather *Innocent* than *Virtuous,* and owest more to thy Constitution, than thy *Religion.*

444. Innocent, is not to be Guilty: But *Virtuous* is to *overcome* our evil Inclinations.

445. If thou hast not conquer'd thy self in that which is thy *own particular* Weakness, thou hast no Title to Virtue, tho' thou art free of other Men's.

446. For a Covetous Man to inveigh against *Prodigality,* an Atheist against *Idolatry,* a Tyrant against *Rebellion,* or a Lyer against *Forgery,* and a Drunkard against *Intemperance,* is for the Pot to call the Kettle *black.*

447. Such Reproof would have but little Success; because it would carry but little *Authority* with it.

448. If thou wouldst conquer thy Weakness, thou must *never gratify* it.

449. No Man is compelled to Evil; his *Consent only* makes it his.

450. 'Tis no Sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What Man in his right Mind, would conspire his own hurt? Men are beside themselves, when they transgress their Convictions.

452. If thou would'st not Sin, *don't Desire;* and if thou would'st not Lust, *don't Embrace* the Temptation: No, not *look* at it, nor *think* of it.

453. Thou would'st take much Pains to save thy Body: Take some, prithee, to save thy Soul.

RELIGION

454. Religion is the *Fear of God,* and its Demonstration on *good Works;* and Faith is the *Root* of both: *For without Faith we cannot please God,* nor can we fear what we do not believe.

455. The *Devils* also believe and know abundance: But in this is the Difference, their Faith works not *by Love,* nor their Knowledge *by Obedience;* and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be such, we shall be of *their* Church, not of *Christ's:* For as the Head is, so must the Body be.

456. He was *Holy, Humble, Harmless, Meek, Merciful,* &c. when among us; to teach us what we should be, when he was gone. And

yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual *Preacher* of the same Grace, by his *Spirit* in our Consciences.

457. A *Minister* of the Gospel ought to be one of *Christ's making,* if he would pass for one of Christ's Ministers.

458. And if he be one of his making, he *Knows* and *Does* as well as Believes.

459. That Minister whose Life is not the *Model* of his Doctrine, is a *Babler* rather than a Preacher; a *Quack* rather than a Physician of Value.

460. Of old Time they were made Ministers by the *Holy Ghost:* And the more that is an *Ingredient* now, the fitter they are for that Work.

461. Running Streams are not so apt to corrupt; nor *Itinerant,* as settled Preachers: But they are not to run *before* they are sent.

462. As they *freely* receive from Christ, so they give.

463. They will not make that a Trade, which they know ought not, *in Conscience,* to be one.

464. Yet there is no fear of their Living that *design* not to live by it.

465. The humble and true Teacher meets with more than he expects.

466. He accounts Contents with Godliness great Gain, and therefore seeks not to *make a Gain of Godliness.*

467. As the Ministers of Christ are made by him, and are like him, so they beget People into the same Likeness.

468. To be like Christ then, is to be a Christian. And Regeneration is the only way to the Kingdom of God, which we pray for.

469. Let us *to Day, therefore, hear his Voice, and not harden our Hearts;* who speaks to us many ways. In the *Scriptures,* in our *Hearts,* by his *Servants* and his *Providences:* And the Sum of all is HOLINESS and CHARITY.

470. St. *James* gives a short Draught of this Matter, but very full and reaching, *Pure Religion and undefiled before God the Father, is this, to visit the Fatherless and the Widows in their affliction, and to keep our selves unspotted from the World.* Which is compriz'd in these Two Words, CHARITY and PIETY.

471. They that truly make these their *Aim,* will find them their *Attainment;* and with them, the *Peace* that follows so excellent a Condition.

472. Amuse not thy self therefore with the *numerous* Opinions of the World, nor value thy self upon *verbal Orthodoxy, Philosophy,* or thy *Skill* in *Tongues,* or *Knowledge* of the *Fathers;* (too much the *Business* and *Vanity* of the World). But in this rejoyce, *That thou knowest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth loving Kindness and Judgment, and Righteousness in the Earth.*

473. *Publick Worship* is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good Example. But we must know, that God is not tyed to Time or Place, who is *every where* at the same Time: And this we shall know, as far as we are capable, if where ever we are, our Desires are *to be with him.*

474. *Serving God,* People generally confine to the Acts of *Publick* and *Private Worship:* And those, the more zealous do oftener repeat, in hopes of Acceptance.

475. But if we consider that God is an *Infinite Spirit,* and, as such, every where; and that our Saviour has taught us, *That he will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth;* we shall see the shortness of such a Notion.

476. For serving God concerns the *Frame* of our Spirits, in the whole Course of our Lives; in every Occasion we have, in which we may shew our Love to his Law.

477. For as Men in Battle are continually in the way of shot, so we, in this World, are ever within the Reach of *Temptation.* And herein do we serve God, if we *avoid* what we are forbid, as well as *do* what he commands.

478. God is better served in resisting a Temptation to Evil, than in many formal Prayers.

479. This is but Twice or Thrice a Day; but That every Hour and Moment of the Day. So much more is our *continual Watch,* than our Evening and Morning Devotion.

480. Wouldst thou then serve God? *Do not that alone, which thou wouldest not that another should see thee do.*

481. Don't take God's Name in *vain,* or disobey thy *Parents,* or wrong thy *Neighbour,* or commit *Adultery,* even in thine *Heart.*

482. Neither be *vain, Lascivious, Proud, Drunken, Revengeful* or *Angry:* Nor *Lye, Detract, Backbite, Over-reach, Oppress, Deceive* or *Betray:* But *watch* vigorously against all Temptations to these Things; as knowing that God is *present,* the *Over-seer* of all thy Ways and most inward Thoughts, and the *Avenger* of his own Law upon the Disobedient, and thou wilt acceptably serve God.

483. It is not reason, if we expect the Acknowledgments of those to whom we are bountiful, that we should reverently pay ours to God, our most *magnificent* and *constant Benefactor?*

484. The *World* represents a Rare and Sumptuous *Palace,* Mankind the great *Family* in it, and God the mighty *Lord* and *Master* of it.

485. We are all sensible what a stately Seat it is: The *Heavens* adorned with so many glorious *Luminaries;* and the Earth with *Groves, Plains, Valleys, Hills, Fountains, Ponds, Lakes* and *Rivers;* and *Variety of Fruits,* and *Creatures* for *Food, Pleasure* and *Profit.* In short, how *Noble an House he keeps,* and the Plenty and Variety and Excellency of his *Table;* his *Orders, Seasons* and *Suitableness* of every Time and Thing. But we must be as sensible, or at least ought to be, what *Careless* and *Idle* Servants we are, and how *short* and *disproportionable* our Behaviour is to his Bounty and Goodness: How long he bears, and often he *reprieves* and *forgives* us: Who, notwithstanding our Breach of Promises, and repeated Neglects, has not yet been *provok'd* to break up House, and send us to *shift* for ourselves. Should not this great Goodness raise a due Sense in us of our Undutifulness, and a Resolution to *alter* our Course and *mend* our *Manners;* that we may be for the future *more worthy Communicants* at our Master's good and great Table? Especially since it is not more certain that we deserve his Displeasure than that we should feel it, if we continue to be *unprofitable Servants.*

486. But tho' God has replenisht this World with abundance of good Things for Man's Life and Comfort, yet they are all but *Imperfect* Goods. He only is the *Perfect* Good to whom they point. But alas! Men cannot see him *for them;* tho' they should always see him *In them.*

487. I have often wondered at the *unaccountableness* of Man in this, among other things; that tho' he loves *Changes* so well, he should care so little to hear or think of his *last, great, and best Change too, if he pleases.*

488. Being, as to our Bodies, composed of *changeable Elements,* we with the World, are made up of, and subsist by *Revolution:* But our *Souls* being of another and *nobler* Nature, we should seek our *Rest* in a *more induring* Habitation.

489. The truest end of Life, is, to know the Life that *never ends.*

490. He that makes this his *Care,* will find it his Crown at last.

491. Life else, were a *Misery* rather than a Pleasure, a *Judgment,* not a Blessing.

492. For to *Know, Regret* and *Resent;* to *Desire, Hope* and *Fear* more than a Beast, and not live beyond him, is to make a Man *less than a Beast.*

493. It is the *Amends* of a short and troublesome Life, that *Doing well,* and *Suffering ill,* Entitles Man to One *Longer* and *Better.*

494. This ever raises the Good Man's Hope, and gives him Tastes beyond the other World.

495. As 'tis his *Aim,* so none else can hit the Mark.

496. Many make it their Speculation, but 'tis the Good Man's *Practice.*

497. His Work keeps Pace with his Life, and so leaves nothing to be done when He Dies.

498. And he that lives to live ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the Means be *terrible* to him that heartily believes the End.

500. For tho' *Death* be a *Dark* Passage, it leads to Immortality, and that's Recompence enough for Suffering of it.

501. And yet *Faith Lights* us, even *through the Grave,* being the *Evidence* of Things not seen.

502. And this is the Comfort of the Good, that the Grave cannot *hold* them, and that they live as soon as they die.

503. For death is no more than a *Turning* of us over from Time to Eternity.

504. Nor can there be a Revolution without it; for it supposes the Dissolution of one form, in order to the Succession of another.

505. *Death* then, being the *Way* and *Condition* of Life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

506. Let us then not cozen our selves with the *Shells* and *Husks* of things; nor prefer *Form* to Power, nor *Shadows* to Substance: *Pictures* of Bread will not *satisfie* Hunger, nor *those* of Devotion p*lease* God.

507. This World is a Form; our Bodies are Forms; and no visible Acts of Devotion can be without Forms. But yet the less Form in Religion the better, since God is a Spirit: For the more *mental* our Worship, the more *adequate* to the Nature of God; the more *silent,* the more *suitable* to the Language of a *Spirit.*

508. Words are for others, not for our selves: Nor for God, who hears not as Bodies do; but as spirits should.

509. If we would know this *Dialect;* we must learn of the Divine Principle in us. As we hear the Dictates of that, so *God hears us.*

510. There we may see him too in all his Attributes: Tho' but in *little,* yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: for as he is in himself, he is incomprehensible, and *dwelleth in that Light which no Eye can approach.* But in his *Image* we may behold his Glory; enough to exalt our Apprehensions of God, and to instruct us in that Worship which pleaseth him.

511. Men may *Tire* themselves in a *Labyrinth* of Search, and talk of God: But if we would know him indeed, it must be from the *Impressions* we receive of him; and the softer our Hearts are, the *deeper* and *livelier* those will be upon us.

512. If he has made us sensible of his Justice, by his *Reproof;* of his Patience, by his *Forbearance;* of his Mercy, by his *Forgiveness;* of his Holiness, by the *Sanctification* of our Hearts through his Spirit; we have a *grounded* Knowledge of God. This is *Experience,* that Speculation; This *Enjoyment,* that Report. In short, this is *undeniable* Evidence, with the *realities* of Religion, and will stand all Winds and Weathers.

513. As our Faith, so our *Devotion* should be *lively. Cold* Meat won't serve at those Repasts.

514. It's a *Coal* from God's Altar must kindle our Fire: And without Fire, *true Fire,* no acceptable Sacrifice.

515. *Open thou my Lips, and then,* said the Royal Prophet, *My Mouth shall praise God.* But not 'till then.

516. The *Preparation* of the Heart as well as *Answer* of the Tongue, is of the Lord: And to have it, our Prayers must be powerful and our Worship grateful.

517. Let us chuse, therefore, to commune where there is the *warmest* Sense of Religion; where *Devotion exceeds* Formality, and *Practice* most corresponds with Profession; and where there is at least as *much Charity* as Zeal: For where this Society is to be found, there shall we find the Church of God.

518. As Good, so Ill Men are all of a *Church;* and every Body knows who must be *Head* of it.

519. The *Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious* and *Devout* Souls, are everywhere of one Religion; and when Death has taken off the *Mask,* they will know one another, tho' the divers *Liveries* they wear here makes them *Strangers.*

520. Great *Allowances* are to be made of Education, and personal Weaknesses: But 'tis a Rule with me, that Man is truly Religious, that loves the Persuasion he is of, for the Piety rather than Ceremony of it.

521. They that have one End, can hardly disagree when they meet. At least their concern in the Greater, *moderates* the value and difference about the lesser things.

522. It is a sad Reflection, that many Men hardly have *any Religion at all;* and most Men have none of their *own:* For that which is the Religion of their Education, and not of their Judgment, is the Religion of *Another,* and not Theirs.

523. To have Religion upon Authority, and not upon Conviction, is like a *Finger Watch,* to be set forwards or backwards, as he pleases that has it in keeping.

524. It is a Preposterous thing, that Men can venture their Souls where they will not venture their Money: For they will take their Religion upon trust, but not trust a *Synod* about the Goodness of Half a Crown.

525. They will follow their own Judgment when their Money is concerned, whatever they do for their Souls.

526. But to be sure, that Religion cannot be right, that a Man is the *worse* for having.

527. No Religion is better than an *Unnatural One.*

528. Grace perfects, but never *sours* or *spoils* Nature.

529. To be *Unnatural* in Defence of *Grace,* is a Contradiction.

530. Hardly any thing looks *worse,* than to defend Religion by ways that shew it has *no Credit* with us.

531. A Devout Man is one thing, a *Stickler* is quite another.

532. When our Minds exceed their just Bounds, we must needs *discredit* what we would recommend.

533. To be Furious in Religion, is to be *Irreligiously* Religious.

534. If he that is *without Bowels,* is not a Man; How then can he be a Christian?

535. It were better to *be* of no Church, than to *be bitter* for any.

536. *Bitterness* comes very near to *Enmity,* and that is *Beelzebub;* because the *Perfection* of Wickedness.

537. A good End cannot *sanctifie* evil Means; nor must we ever do *Evil,* that Good may come of it.

538. Some Folks think they may *Scold, Rail, Hate, Rob* and *Kill* too; so it be but *for God's sake.*

539. But nothing in us *unlike* him, can please him.

540. It is as great Presumption *to send our Passions upon God's Errands,* as it is to *palliate them with God's Name.*

541. Zeal dropped in *Charity,* is good, without it *good for nothing:* For it devours all it comes near.

542. They must *first* judge themselves, that presume to censure others: And such will not be apt to *overshoot* the Mark.

543. We are too ready to *retaliate,* rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information.

544. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe *loves* us.

545. Let us then try what *Love* will do: For if Men did *once see* we Love them, we should *soon find* they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but *Love* gains: And he that *forgives first, wins the Lawrel.*

547. If I am even with my Enemy, the Debt is *paid;* But if I forgive it, I *oblige* him for ever.

548. *Love* is the hardest Lesson in Christianity; but, for that reason, it should be most our care to learn it. *Difficilia quae Pulchra.*

549. It is a severe Rebuke upon us, that God makes us so many Allowances, and we make so few to our Neighbour: *As if Charity had nothing to do with Religion;* Or Love with Faith, that ought to *work by it.*

550. I find all sorts of People *agree,* whatsoever were their Animosities, when *humbled* by the Approaches of Death: *Then they forgive, then they pray for, and love one another:* Which shews us, that it is not our Reason, but our *Passion,* that makes and holds up the *Feuds* that reign among men in their Health and Fulness. They, therefore, that live *nearest* to that which they should die, must certainly live *best.*

551. Did we believe a final Reckoning and Judgment; or did we think *enough* of what we do *believe,* we would allow *more Love* in Religion than we do; since *Religion* it self is nothing else but *Love* to *God and Man.*

552. *He that lives in Love lives in God,* says the Beloved Disciple: And to be sure a Man can live *no where better.*

553. It is most reasonable Men should value that Benefit, which is most *durable.* Now Tongues shall cease, and prophecy fail, and *Faith* shall be *consummated* in Sight, and Hope in Enjoyment; but *Love remains.*

554. Love is indeed Heaven upon Earth; since Heaven above would not be Heaven without it: For where there is not Love; there is Fear:

But *perfect Love casts out Fear.* And yet we naturally *fear most* to offend what we *most Love.*

555. What we love, we'll Hear; what we Love, we'll Trust; and what we Love, we'll serve, ay, and suffer for too. *If you love me* (says our Blessed Redeemer) *keep my Commandments.* Why? Why then he'll *Love us;* then we shall be his *Friends;* then he'll send us the *Comforter;* then whatsoever we ask, we shall receive; and then where he is *we shall be also, and that for ever.* Behold the Fruits of *Love;* the *Power, Vertue, Benefit* and *Beauty* of *Love!*

556. *Love* is above all; and when it prevails in us all, we shall all be *Lovely,* and in Love with *God* and *one* with *another.*

Amen.

More Fruits of Solitude

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE READER

The Title of this TREATISE shows, there was a *former* of the same Nature; and the Author hopes he runs no Hazard in recommending *both* to his Reader's Perusal. He is well aware of the *low* Reckoning the Labours of *indifferent* Authors are under, at a Time when hardly any Thing passes for current, that is not calculated to *flatter* the Sharpness of contending Parties. He is also sensible, that Books grow a very *Drug,* where they cannot raise and support their Credit, by their own Usefulness; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himself tolerably safe in making it publick, in three Respects.

First, That the *Purchase* is *small,* and the *Time* but *little,* that is requisite to read it.

Next, Though some Men should not find it relish'd *high enough* for their finer Wits, or warmer Pallats, it will not perhaps be *useless* to those of lower Flights, and who are less engaged in publick Heats.

Lastly, The Author honestly aims at as general a Benefit as the Thing will bear; to YOUTH especially, whether he hits the Mark or not: And that without the least Ostentation, or any private Regards.

Let not Envy misinterpret his Intention, and he will be accountable for all other Faults.

VALE.

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MORE FRUITS OF SOLITUDE

BEING

The Second Part of

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS

The Right Moralist

1. A Right Moralist, is a Great and Good Man, but for that Reason he is *rarely* to be found.

2. There are a Sort of People, that are *fond* of the Character, who, in my Opinion, have but little Title to it.

3. They think it enough, not to *defraud* a Man of his Pay, or *betray* his Friend; but never consider, That the Law forbids the one at his Peril, and that Virtue is *seldom* the Reason of the other.

4. But certainly he that *Covets,* can no more be a Moral Man, than he that *Steals;* since he does so in his Mind. Nor can he be one that Robs his Neighbour of his *Credit,* or that craftily undermines him of his *Trade* or *Office.*

5. If a Man pays his Taylor, but Debauches his Wife; Is he a current Moralist?

6. But what shall we say of the Man that *Rebels* against his Father, is an *Ill Husband,* or an *Abusive Neighbour;* one that's *Lavish* of his Time, of his Health, and of his Estate, in which his Family is so nearly concerned? Must he go for a Right Moralist, because he pays his Rent well?

7. I would ask some of those Men of Morals, Whether he that Robs *God* and *Himself* too, tho' he should not defraud his Neighbour, be the Moral Man?

8. Do I owe my self Nothing? And do I not owe All to God? And if paying what we owe, makes the Moral Man, is it not fit we should begin to render our Dues, where we owe our very Beginning; ay, our *All?*

9. The *Compleat* Moralist begins with *God;* he gives him his Due, his *Heart,* his *Love,* his *Service;* the Bountiful Giver of his *Well-Being,* as well as Being.

10. He that lives without a Sense of this Dependency and Obligation, cannot be a Moral Man, because he does not make his Returns of Love and Obedience; as becomes an honest and a sensible Creature: Which very Term Implies he is not his own; and it cannot be very honest to mis-imploy another's Goods.

11. But can there be no Debt, but to a fellow Creature? Or, will our Exactness in paying those *Dribling* ones, while we neglect our weightier Obligations, Cancel the Bonds we lie under, and render us right and thorough Moralists?

12. As *Judgments* are paid before *Bonds,* and *Bonds* before *Bills* or *Book-Debts,* so the Moralist considers his Obligations according to their several *Dignities.*

In the first Place, *Him* to whom he owes himself. Next, *himself,* in his Health and Livelihood. Lastly, His other Obligations, whether *Rational* or *Pecuniary;* doing to others, to the Extent of his Ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13. In short, The *Moral Man* is he that *Loves God above All, and his Neighbour as himself,* which fulfils both Tables at once.

THE WORLD'S ABLE MAN

14. It is by some thought, the Character of an Able Man, to be *Dark and not Understood.* But I am sure that is not fair Play.

15. If he be so by *Silence,* 'tis better; but if by *Disguises, 'tis insincere* and *hateful.*

16. Secrecy is one Thing, *false Light* is another.

17. The honest Man, that is rather free, than open, is ever to be preferr'd; especially when *Sense* is at Helm.

18. The Glorying of the other Humour is in a *Vice:* For it is not Humane to be *Cold, Dark* and *Unconversable,* I was a going to say, they are like *Pick-Pockets* in a Crowd, where a Man must ever have his *Hand* on his Purse; or as *Spies* in a Garrison, that if not prevented betrays it.

19. They are the *Reverse* of Human Nature, and yet this is the present World's *Wise Man* and Politician: Excellent Qualities for *Lapland,* where, they say, Witches, though not many Conjurors, dwell.

20. Like *Highway-Men,* that rarely Rob without *Vizards,* or in the *same* Wigs and Cloaths, but have a *Dress* for every Enterprize.

21. At best, he may be a *Cunning* Man, which is a sort of *Lurcher* in the Politicks.

22. He is never too hard for the *Wise* Man upon the *Square,* for that is out of his Element, and puts him quite by his Skill. Nor are *Wise Men* ever catch'd by him, but when they trust him.

23. But as *Cold* and *Close* as he seems, he can and will please all, if he gets by it, though it should neither please God nor himself at bottom.

24. He is for every Cause that brings him Gain, but Implacable if disappointed of Success.

25. And what he cannot hinder, he will be sure to Spoil, by over-doing it.

26. None so *Zealous* then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27. What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true Sentiments.

28. For his Interest, he refuses no Side or Party; and will take the *Wrong* by the Hand, when t'other wont do, with as *good a Grace* as the Right.

29. Nay, he commonly chooses the Worst, because that brings the best Bribe: His Cause being ever Money.

30. He Sails with all *Winds,* and is never out of his Way, where any Thing is to be had.

31. A *Privateer* indeed, and everywhere a very Bird of *Prey.*

32. True to nothing but *himself,* and false to all Persons and Parties, to serve his own Turn.

33. Talk with him as often as you please, he will never pay you in good Coin; for 'tis *False* or *Clipt.*

34. But to give a *False* Reason for any Thing, let my Reader never learn of him, no more than to give a Brass Half-Crown for a good

one: Not only because it is not true, but because it *Deceives* the Person to whom it is given; which I take to be an *Immorality.*

35. *Silence* is much more preferable, for it *saves* the Secret, as well as the Person's Honour.

36. Such as give themselves the Latitude of saying what they do not mean, come to be *errant Jockeys* at more Things than one; but in *Religion* and *Politicks,* 'tis most pernicious.

37. To hear two Men talk the *Reverse* of their own Sentiments, with all the good Breeding and Appearance of Friendship imaginable, on purpose to *Cozen* or *Pump* each other, is to a Man of *Virtue* and *Honour,* one of the Melancholiest, as well as most Nauseous Thing in the *World.*

38. But that it should be the Character of an Able Man, is to *Disinherit Wisdom,* and Paint out our Degeneracy to the Life, by setting up Fraud, an errant *Impostor,* in her Room.

39. The Tryal of Skill between these two is, who shall believe *least* of what t'other says; and he that has the *Weakness,* or good Nature to *give* out *first, (viz.* to *believe* any Thing t'other says) is look'd upon to be *Trick'd.*

40. I cannot see the *Policy,* any more than the Necessity, of a Man's Mind always giving the Lye to his Mouth, or his Mouth ever giving the false Alarms of his Mind: For no Man can be long believed, that teaches all Men to distrust him; and since the Ablest have sometimes need of Credit, where lies the Advantage of their Politick *Cant* or *Banter* upon Mankind?

41. I remember a Passage of one of Queen *Elizabeth's* Great Men, as Advice to his Friend; *The Advantage,* says he, *I had upon others at Court, was, that I always spoke* as I thought, *which being not* believed by *them, I both preserv'd a* good Conscience, *and suffered* no Damage *from that Freedom:* Which, as it shows the Vice to be Older than our Times, so that Gallant Men's Integrity, to be the best Way of avoiding it.

42. To be sure it is wise, as well as Honest, neither to flatter other Men's Sentiments, nor *Dissemble* and less *Contradict* our own.

43. To hold ones Tongue, or speak Truth, or talk only of indifferent Things, is the *Fairest* Conversation.

44. *Women* that rarely go Abroad without *Vizard-Masks,* have none of the best Reputation. But when we consider what all this *Art* and *Disguise* are for, it equally heightens the *Wise* Man's *Wonder* and Aversion: Perhaps it is to *betray* a Father, a Brother, a Master, a Friend, a Neighbour, or ones own Party.

45. A fine Conquest! what Noble *Grecians* and *Romans* abhorr'd: As if Government could not *subsist* without Knavery, and that Knaves were the *Usefullest* Props to it; tho' the basest, as well as greatest, Perversion of the *Ends* of it.

46. But that it should become a *Maxim,* shows but too grossly the Corruption of the Times.

47. I confess I have heard the Stile of a *Useful Knave,* but ever took it to be a silly or a knavish Saying; at least an *Excuse* for Knavery.

48. It is as reasonable to think a Whore makes the best Wife, as a Knave the best Officer.

49. Besides, Employing Knaves, *Encourages* Knavery instead of punishing it; and *Alienates* the Reward of Virtue. Or, at least, must make the World believe, the Country yields not honest Men enough, able to serve her.

50. Art thou a Magistrate? Prefer such as have *clean* Characters where they live, and of Estates to *secure* a just Discharge of their Trusts; that are under no Temptation to *strain* Point for a Fortune: For sometimes such may be found, *sooner* than they are Employed.

51. Art thou a Private Man? Contract thy Acquaintance in a narrow Compass, and chuse. Those for the Subjects of it, that are Men of Principles; such as will make full Stops, where Honour will not lead them on; and that had rather bear the disgrace of not being *thorow Paced* Men, than forfeit their Peace and Reputation by a *base* Compliance.

THE WISE MAN

52. The *Wise* Man Governs himself by the *Reason* of his Case, and because what he does is *Best:* Best, in a Moral and Prudent, not a *Sinister* Sense.

53. He proposes just Ends, and employs the *fairest* and *probablest* Means and Methods to attain them.

54. Though you cannot always penetrate his Design, or his Reasons for it, yet you shall ever see his Actions of a *Piece,* and his Performances like a *Workman:* They will bear the *Touch* of Wisdom and Honour, as often as they are tryed.

55. He scorns to serve himself by *Indirect Means,* or be an *Interloper* in Government, since just Enterprises never want any Just *Ways* to succeed them.

56. To do Evil, that Good may come of it, is for *Bunglers* in Politicks, as well as Morals.

57. Like those Surgeons, that will cut off an Arm they can't cure, to *hide* their Ignorance and save their Credit.

58. The *Wise* Man is *Cautious,* but not cunning; *Judicious,* but not Crafty; making Virtue the *Measure* of using his Excellent Understanding in the Conduct of his Life.

59. The *Wise* Man is equal, ready, but not *officious;* has in every Thing an Eye to *Sure Footing:* He offends *no Body,* nor *easily* is offended, and always willing to Compound for *Wrongs,* if not forgive them.

60. He is never Captious, nor Critical; hates *Banter* and *Jests:* He may be Pleasant, but not Light; he never deals but in *Substantial Ware,* and leaves the rest for the *Toy Pates* (or Shops) of the *World;* which are so far from being his Business, that they are not so much as his *Diversion.*

61. He is always for some solid Good, *Civil* or *Moral;* as, to make his Country more *Virtuous,* Preserve her Peace and Liberty, Imploy her Poor, Improve Land, Advance Trade, Suppress Vice, Incourage Industry, and all Mechanick Knowledge; and that they should be the *Care* of the Government, and the Blessing and Praise of the People.

62. To conclude: He is Just, and *fears God, hates Covetousness, and eschews Evil, and loves his Neighbour as himself.*

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THOUGHTS

63. Man being made a Reasonable, and so a *Thinking* Creature, there is nothing more *Worthy* of his Being, than the *Right* Direction and Employment of his Thoughts; since upon *This,* depends both his Usefulness to the Publick, and his own present and future Benefit in all Respects.

64. The Consideration of this, has often obliged me to Lament the Unhappiness of Mankind, that through too great a Mixture and Confusion of Thoughts, have been hardly able to make a Right or a Mature Judgment of Things.

65. To this is owing the various *Uncertainty* and *Confusion* we see in the *World,* and the *Intemperate* Zeal that occasions them.

66. To this also is to be attributed the *imperfect* Knowledge we have of Things, and the slow Progress we make in attaining to a Better; like the Children of *Israel* that were *forty* Years upon their Journey, from *Egypt to Canaan,* which might have been performed in *Less* than One.

67. In fine, 'tis to this that we ought to ascribe, if not all, at least most of the Infelicities we Labour under.

68. *Clear* therefore thy Head, and *Rally,* and *Manage* thy Thoughts *Rightly,* and thou wilt *Save* Time, and *See* and *Do* thy Business *Well;* for thy Judgment will be *Distinct,* thy Mind *Free,* and the Faculties *Strong* and *Regular.*

69. Always remember to *bound* thy Thoughts to the *present* Occasion.

70. If it be thy Religious Duty, suffer nothing else to *Share* in them. And if any Civil or Temporal Affair, observe the same Caution, and thou wilt be a *whole* Man to every Thing, and do *twice* the Business in the same Time.

71. If any Point over-Labours thy Mind, divert and relieve it, by some other Subject, of a more *Sensible,* or Manual Nature, rather than what may affect the Understanding; for this were to write one Thing *upon* another, which *blots out* our former Impressions, or renders them *illegible.*

72. *They* that are least divided in their Care, always give the best Account of their Business.

73. As therefore thou art always to pursue the *present* Subject, till thou hast master'd it, so if it fall out that thou hast more Affairs than one upon thy Hand, be sure to *prefer* that which is of *most Moment,* and will *least* wait thy Leisure.

74. He that Judges not well of the Importance of his Affairs, though he may be always *Busy,* he must make but a *small* Progress.

75. But make not more Business necessary than is so; and rather *lessen* than augment *Work* for thy self.

76. Nor yet be *over-eager* in pursuit of any Thing; for the Mercurial too often happen to leave *Judgment* behind them, and sometimes make Work for *Repentance.*

77. He that *over-runs* his Business, leaves it for him that follows more leisurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable Harvest to them that never Sow'd.

78. 'Tis the Advantage that slower Tempers have upon the Men of lively Parts, that tho' they don't lead, they will *Follow well, and Glean Clean.*

79. Upon the whole Matter, Employ thy Thoughts as thy Business requires, and let that have Place according to Merit and Urgency; giving every Thing a Review and due Digestion, and thou wilt prevent many Errors and Vexations, as well as save much Time to thy self in the Course of thy Life.

OF ENVY

80. It is the Mark of an ill Nature, to *lessen* good Actions, and *aggravate* ill Ones.

81. Some men do as much *begrutch* others a good Name, as they want one themselves; and perhaps *that* is the Reason of it.

82. But certainly they are in the Wrong, that can think they are lessened, because others have their *Due.*

83. Such People generally have less Merit than Ambition, that *Covet* the Reward of other Men's; and to be sure a very ill Nature, that will rather *Rob* others of their Due, than allow them their Praise.

84. It is more an Error of our Will, than our Judgment: For we know it to be an Effect of our *Passion,* not our Reason; and therefore we are the more culpable in our *Partial* Estimates.

85. It is as Envious as Unjust, to *underrate* another's Action where their intrinsick *Worth* recommends them to disengaged Minds.

86. Nothing shews more the Folly, as well as Fraud of Man, than *Clipping* of Merit and Reputation.

87. And as some Men think it an *Allay* to themselves, that others have their Right; so they know no End of *Pilfering* to raise their own Credit.

88. This Envy is the Child of *Pride,* and Misgives, rather than Mistakes.

89. It will have Charity, to be *Ostentation;* Sobriety, *Covetousness;* Humility, *Craft;* Bounty, *Popularity:* In short, Virtue must be *Design,* and Religion, only *Interest.* Nay, the best of Qualities must not pass without a *BUT* to allay their Merit and abate their Praise. *Basest* of Tempers! and they that have them, the *Worst* of Men!

90. But Just and Noble Minds Rejoice in other Men's Success, and *help* to augment their Praise.

91. And indeed they are not without a Love to Virtue, that take a Satisfaction in seeing her Rewarded, and such deserve to *share* her Character that do abhor to *lessen* it.

OF MAN'S LIFE

92. Why is Man *less* durable than the Works of his Hands, but because *This is not* the Place of his Rest?

93. And it is a Great and Just Reproach upon him, that he should *fix* his Mind where he cannot *stay* himself.

94. Were it not more his *Wisdom* to be concerned about those *Works* that will go with him, and erect a Mansion for him where Time has Power neither over him nor it?

95. 'Tis a sad Thing for *Man* so often to miss his Way to his *Best,* as well as most Lasting Home.

OF AMBITION

96. They that soar too high, often fall *hard;* which makes a *low* and level Dwelling preferrable.

97. The tallest Trees are most in the Power of the *Winds,* and Ambitious *Men* of the Blasts of Fortune.

98. They are *most* seen and observed, and most envyed: Least Quiet, but most talk'd of, and not often to their Advantage.

99. Those Buildings had need of a good Foundation, that lie so much exposed to *Weather.*

100. Good *Works* are a *Rock,* that will support their Credit; but Ill Ones a Sandy Foundation that *Yields* to Calamities.

101. And truly they ought to expect no Pity in their Fall, that when in Power had no *Bowels* for the Unhappy.

102. The worst of Distempers; always Craving and Thirsty, Restless and Hated: A perfect *Delirium* in the Mind: *Insufferable* in Success, and in Disappointments most *Revengeful.*

OF PRAISE OR APPLAUSE

103. We are too apt to love *Praise,* but not to *Deserve* it.

104. But if we would Deserve it, we must love *Virtue* more than That.

105. As there is no Passion in us sooner moved, or more deceivable, so for that Reason there is none over which we ought to be more *Watchful,* whether we give or receive it: For if we give it, we must be sure to mean it, and measure it too.

106. If we are *Penurious,* it shows *Emulation;* if we exceed, *Flattery.*

107. *Good Measure* belongs to Good Actions; more looks Nauseous, as well as Insincere; besides, 'tis a *Persecuting* of the Meritorious, who are out of Countenance to *hear,* what they deserve.

108. It is much *easier* for him to merit Applause, than *hear* of it: And he never doubts himself more, or the Person that gives it, than when he *hears so much* of it.

109. But to say true, there needs not *many* Cautions on this Hand, since the *World* is rarely *just enough* to the Deserving.

110. However, we cannot be too Circumspect *how* we receive Praise: For if we contemplate our selves in a *false* Glass, we are sure to be *mistaken* about our Dues; and because we are too apt to believe what is Pleasing, rather than what is True, we may be too easily swell'd, beyond our just Proportion, by the *Windy* Compliments of Men.

111. Make ever therefore *Allowances* for what is said on such Occasions, or thou Exposest, as well as Deceivest thy self.

112. For an Over-value of our selves, gives us but a dangerous Security in many Respects.

113. We expect more than belongs to us; take all that's given us though never meant us; and fall out with those that are not as *full of us* as we are of our selves.

114. In short, 'tis a Passion that abuses our Judgment, and makes us both Unsafe and Ridiculous.

115. Be not *fond* therefore of Praise, but *seek* Virtue that leads to it.

116. And yet no more *lessen* or *dissemble* thy Merit, than overrate it: For tho' Humility be a Virtue, an affected one is none.

OF CONDUCT in SPEECH

117. Enquire *often,* but Judge *rarely,* and thou wilt not often be mistaken.

118. It is safer to Learn, than teach; and who conceals his Opinion, has *nothing* to Answer for.

119. Vanity or Resentment often engage us, and 'tis two to one but we come off Losers; for one shews a Want of *Judgment* and *Humility,* as the other does of *Temper* and *Discretion.*

120. Not that I admire the *Reserved;* for they are next to *Unnatural* that are not Communicable. But if Reservedness be at any Time a Virtue, 'tis in *Throngs* or *ill* Company.

121. Beware also of *Affectation in Speech;* it often wrongs *Matter,* and ever shows a *blind* Side.

122. Speak properly, and in as few Words as you can, but always *plainly;* for the End of Speech is not Ostentation, but to be understood.

123. They that affect Words more than Matter, will *dry* up that little they have.

124. *Sense* never fails to give them that have it, *Words* enough to make them understood.

125. But it too often happens in some Conversation, as in *Apothecary-Shops,* that those Pots that are *Empty,* or have Things of small

Value in them, are as *gaudily Dress'd* and *Flourish'd,* as those that are full of precious Drugs.

126. This Labouring of slight Matter with flourish'd Turns of Expression, is fulsome, and worse than the *Modern Imitation* of Tapestry, and *East-India* Goods, in Stuffs and Linnens. In short, 'tis but *Taudry* Talk, and next to very Trash.

UNION OF FRIENDS

127. They that love *beyond* the *World,* cannot be separated by it.

128. Death cannot kill, what *never* dies.

129. Nor can Spirits ever be divided that love and live in the *same* Divine Principle; the *Root* and *Record* of their Friendship.

130. If Absence be not Death, neither is theirs.

131. Death is but *Crossing* the *World,* as Friends do the Seas; They live in one another still.

132. For they must needs be present, that love and live in that which is *Omnipresent.*

133. In this Divine Glass, they see Face to Face and their Converse is *Free,* as well as *Pure.*

134. This is the Comfort of Friends, that though they may be said to *Die,* yet their Friendship and Society are, in the best Sense, ever present, because *Immortal.*

OF BEING EASY IN LIVING

135. 'Tis a Happiness to be delivered from a *Curious* Mind, as well as from a Dainty Palate.

136. For it is not only a Troublesome but *Slavish* Thing to be *Nice.*

137. They *narrow* their own Freedom and Comforts, that make *so much* requisite to enjoy them.

138. To be *Easy* in Living, is much of the *Pleasure* of Life: But difficult Tempers will always want it.

139. A *Careless* and *Homely* Breeding is therefore preferable to one Nice and Delicate.

140. And he that is taught to live upon a *little,* owes more to his Father's *Wisdom,* than he that has a great deal left him, does to his Father's Care.

141. Children can't well be too hardly Bred: For besides that it *fits* them to bear the *Roughest* Providences, it is more *Masculine,* Active and Healthy.

142. Nay, 'tis certain, that the *Liberty* of the Mind is mightily preserved by it: For so 'tis served, instead of being a Servant, indeed a Slave to sensual Delicacies.

143. As Nature is soon answered, so are such *satisfied.*

144. The Memory of the Ancients is hardly in any Thing more to be celebrated, than in a *Strict and Useful Institution of Youth.*

145. By *Labour* they prevented *Luxury* in their *young* People, till *Wisdom* and Philosophy had taught them to *Resist* and *Despise* it.

146. It must be therefore a gross Fault to strive so hard for the Pleasure of our Bodies, and be so insensible and careless of the *Freedom* of our Souls.

OF MAN'S INCONSIDERATENESS AND PARTIALITY

147. 'Tis very observable, if our Civil Rights are invaded or incroach'd upon, we are mightily *touch'd,* and *fill* every Place with our Resentment and Complaint; while we suffer ourselves, our *Better* and Nobler, to be the *Property* and Vassals of Sin, the *worst* of Invaders.

148. *In vain* do we expect to be delivered from such Troubles, till we are delivered from the *Cause* of them, our Disobedience to God.

149. When he has his *Dues* from us, it will be *time enough* for Him to give us ours out of one another.

150. 'Tis our great Happiness, if we could understand it, that we meet with such *Checks* in the *Career* of our Worldly Enjoyments, lest we should *Forget* the Giver, adore the Gift, and *terminate* our *Felicity* here, which is not Man's *ultimate* Bliss.

151. Our Losses are often made *Judgments* by our *Guilt,* and *Mercies* by our *Repentance.*

152. Besides, it argues great Folly in Men to let their Satisfaction exceed the *true Value* of any Temporal Matter: For Disappointments

are not always to be measured by the Loss of the Thing, but the *Over-value* we put upon it.

153. And thus Men improve their own Miseries, for want of an Equal and Just Estimate of what they Enjoy or Lose.

154. There lies a *Proviso* upon every Thing in this World, and we must observe it at our own Peril, *viz. To Love God above all,* and Act for *Judgment,* the *Last* I mean.

OF THE RULE OF JUDGING

155. In all Things *Reason should prevail:* 'Tis quite another Thing to be *stiff* than steady in an Opinion.

156. This may be Reasonable, but that is ever *Wilful.*

157. In such Cases it always happens, that the clearer the Argument, the *greater* the Obstinacy, where the *Design* is not to be convinced.

158. This is to value Humour more than Truth, and prefer a *sullen Pride* to a reasonable Submission.

159. 'Tis the Glory of a Man to *vail* to Truth; as it is the Mark of a good Nature to be *Easily* entreated.

160. Beasts Act by Sense, Man should by *Reason;* else he is a greater Beast than ever God made: And the Proverb is verified, The Corruption of the best Things is the worst and most offensive.

161. A reasonable Opinion must ever be in Danger, where Reason is not Judge.

162. Though there is a Regard due to Education, and the Tradition of our Fathers, Truth will ever *deserve,* as well as claim the Preference.

163. If like *Theophilus* and *Timothy,* we have been brought up in the Knowledge of the best Things, 'tis our Advantage: But neither they nor we *lose* by trying their Truth; for so we learn their, as well as its *intrinsick Worth.*

164. Truth never lost Ground by Enquiry, because she is *most of all Reasonable.*

165. Nor can that need another Authority, that is *Self-evident.*

166. If my own Reason be *on the Side* of a Principle, *with what* can I Dispute or withstand it?

167. And if Men should once consider one another reasonably, they would either reconcile their Differences, or *more Amicably* maintain them.

168. Let That therefore be the Standard, that has *most to say* for itself: Tho' of that let *every Man* be Judge for himself.

169. Reason, like the *Sun* is *Common* to All; And 'tis for want of examining all *by* the *same* Light and Measure, that we are not all of the *same* Mind: For all have it to that End, though all do not use it *So.*

OF FORMALITY

170. Form is Good, but not *Formality.*

171. In the Use of the best of Forms there is too much of that I fear.

172. 'Tis absolutely necessary, that this Distinction should go along with People in their Devotion; for too many are apter to rest upon *What* they do, than *How* they do their Duty.

173. If it were considered, that it is the *Frame* of the Mind that gives our Performances Acceptance, *we* would lay more Stress on our *Inward* Preparation than our Outward Action.

OF THE MEAN NOTION WE HAVE OF GOD

174. Nothing more shews the low Condition Man is fallen into, than the *unsuitable* Notion we must have of God, by the *Ways* we take to please him.

175. As if it availed any Thing to him that we performed so many Ceremonies and external Forms of Devotion, who never meant more by them, than to try our Obedience, and through them, to shew us something *more Excellent and Durable* beyond them.

176. Doing, while we are *Undoing,* is good for nothing.

177. Of what Benefit is it to say our *Prayers* regularly, go to *Church,* receive the *Sacraments,* and may be go to *Confessions* too; ay, *Feast* the Priest, and give *Alms* to the Poor, and yet *Lye, Swear, Curse,* be *Drunk, Covetous, Unclean, Proud, Revengeful, Vain* and *Idle* at the same Time?

178. Can one excuse or ballance the other? Or will God think himself well served, where his Law is *Violated?* or well use, where there is so much more *Shew* than Substance?

179. 'Tis a most dangerous Error for a Man to think to excuse himself in the Breach of a Moral Duty, by a *Formal* Performance of *Positive Worship;* and less when of Human Invention.

180. Our Blessed Saviour most right and clearly distinguished and determined this Case, when he told the *Jews,* that they were his *Mother,* his *Brethren* and *Sisters,* who did the *Will* of his Father.

OF THE BENEFIT OF JUSTICE

181. Justice is a great Support of Society, because an *Insurance* to all Men of their Property: This violated, there's no Security, which throws all into *Confusion* to recover it.

182. An Honest Man is a fast *Pledge* in Dealing. A Man is *Sure* to have it if it be *to be had.*

183. Many are so, meerly of *Necessity:* Others not so only for the same Reason: But such an honest Man is *not* to be thanked, and such a dishonest Man is to be pity'd.

184. But he that is dishonest for Gain, is *next* to a Robber, and to be punish'd for Example.

185. And indeed there are *few* Dealers, but what are Faulty, which makes Trade *Difficult,* and a great *Temptation* to Men of *Virtue.*

186. 'Tis not what they *should,* but what they *can* get: Faults or Decays must be concealed: Big Words given, where they are not deserved, and the Ignorance or Necessity of the Buyer imposed upon for unjust Profit.

187. These are the Men that keep their Words for their own Ends, and are only Just for Fear of the Magistrate.

188. A *Politick* rather than a Moral Honesty; a *constrained,* not a chosen Justice: According to the Proverb, *Patience per Force,* and *thank you for nothing.*

189. But of all Justice, that is the greatest, that passes under the Name of Law. A Cut-Purse in *Westminster-Hall* exceeds; for that advances Injustice to Oppression, where Law is alledged for that which it should punish.

OF JEALOUSY

190. The Jealous are Troublesome to others, but a *Torment* to themselves.

191. Jealousy is a kind of *Civil War* in the Soul, where *Judgment* and *Imagination* are at perpetual *Jars.*

192. This Civil *Dissension* in the Mind, like that of the Body Politick, commits great Disorders, and lays all waste.

193. Nothing stands safe in its *Way: Nature, Interest, Religion,* must Yield to its Fury.

194. It violates *Contracts,* Dissolves *Society,* Breaks *Wedlock,* Betrays *Friends* and *Neighbours. No Body* is Good, and every one is either doing or designing them a *Mischief.*

195. It has a *Venome* that more or less rankles wherever it bites: And as it reports Fancies for Facts, so it *disturbs* its *own* House as often as other Folks.

196. Its Rise is *Guilt* or *Ill Nature,* and by Reflection thinks its own Faults to be other Men's; as he that's over-run with the *Jaundice* takes others to be *Yellow.*

197. A Jealous Man only sees his *own Spectrum,* when he looks upon other Men, and gives his Character in theirs.

OF STATE

198. I love Service, but not *State;* One is Useful, the other is *Superfluous.*

199. The *Trouble* of this, as well as Charge, is Real; but the Advantage only Imaginary.

200. Besides, it helps to set us up *above our selves,* and Augments our Temptation to Disorder.

201. The *Least* Thing out of Joint, or omitted, make us uneasy: and we are ready to think our selves ill served, about that which is of no real Service at all: Or so much better than other Men, as we have the Means of greater State.

202. But this is all for want of *Wisdom,* which carries the *truest* and most forceable *State* along with it.

203. He that makes not himself *Cheap* by indiscreet Conversation, puts Value enough upon himself every where.

204. The other is rather Pageantry than State.

OF A GOOD SERVANT

205. A True, and a Good Servant, are the same Thing.

206. But no *Servant* is True to his Master, that Defrauds him.

207. Now there are many Ways of Defrauding a Master, as, of *Time, Care, Pains, Respect,* and *Reputation,* as well as *Money.*

208. He that Neglects his Work, Robs his Master, since he is Fed and Paid as if he did his Best; and he that is not as Diligent in the Absence, as in the Presence of his Master, cannot be a true Servant.

209. Nor is he a true Servant, that buys dear to *share* in the Profit with the Seller.

210. Nor yet he that tells Tales without Doors; or deals basely in his Master's Name with other People; or Connives at others Loyterings, Wasteings, or dishonourable Reflections.

211. So that a true *Servant* is *Diligent, Secret,* and *Respectful:* More *Tender* of his Master's Honour and Interest, than of his own Profit.

212. Such a *Servant* deserves well, and if Modest under his Merit, should liberally feel it at his Master's Hand.

OF AN IMMEDIATE PURSUIT OF THE WORLD

213. It shews a *Depraved* State of Mind, to *Cark* and Care for that which one does not need.

214. Some are as eager to be *Rich,* as ever they were to Live: For *Superfluity,* as for Substance.

215. But that *Plenty* should augment *Covetousness,* is a *Perversion* of Providence; and yet the Generality are the *worse* for their Riches.

216. But it is strange, that *Old* Men should excel: For generally Money lies nearest them that are nearest their *Graves:* As if they would augment their Love in Proportion to the *little* Time they have left to enjoy it: And yet their Pleasure is without Enjoyment, since none enjoy what they do *not use.*

217. So that instead of learning to leave their great Wealth easily, they hold the *Faster,* because they must leave it: So *Sordid* is the Temper of some Men.

218. Where *Charity* keeps Pace with Gain, Industry is blessed: But to slave to get, and keep it *Sordidly,* is a *Sin* against *Providence,* a Vice in *Government,* and an Injury to their *Neighbours.*

219. Such are they as spend not one *Fifth* of their Income, and, it may be, give not one *Truth* of what they spend to the Needy.

220. This is the *worst* Sort of Idolatry, because there can be *no Religion* in it, nor Ignorance pleaded in *Excuse* of it; and that it wrongs other Folks that ought to have a *Share* therein.

OF THE INTEREST OF THE PUBLICK IN OUR ESTATES

221. *Hardly* any Thing is given us for our *Selves,* but the Publick may claim a *Share* with us. But of all we call ours, we are *most accountable* to God and the Publick for our Estates: In this we are but *Stewards,* and to *Hord* up all to ourselves is great *Injustice* as well as Ingratitude.

222. If all Men were so far *Tenants* to the Publick, that the *Superfluities* of Gain and Expence were applied to the *Exigencies* thereof, it would put an *End* to Taxes, leave never a Beggar, and make the greatest *Bank* for National Trade in *Europe.*

223. It is a *Judgment* upon us, as well as *Weakness,* tho' we won't see it, to begin at the *wrong* End.

224. If the Taxes we give are not to maintain Pride, I am sure there would be less, if *Pride* were made a *Tax* to the Government.

225. I confess I have wondered that so many Lawful and Useful Things are Excised by Laws, and *Pride* left to *Reign Free* over them and the Publick.

226. But since People are more afraid of the *Laws* of Man than of God, because their Punishment seems to be *nearest:* I know not how Magistrates can be excused in their suffering such *Excess* with *Impunity.*

227. Our Noble *English Patriarchs* as well as *Patriots,* were so sensible of this Evil, that they made several excellent Laws, commonly called *Sumptuary,* to *Forbid,* at least *Limit* the *Pride* of the People;

which because the Execution of them would be our Interest and Honour, their Neglect must be our just Reproach and Loss.

228. 'Tis but Reasonable that the Punishment of *Pride* and Excess should help to *support* the Government, since it must otherwise inevitably be ruined *by them.*

229. But some say, *It ruins Trade,* and will make the *Poor* Burthensome to the Publick; But if such Trade in Consequence ruins the Kingdom, is it not Time to ruin that Trade? Is Moderation no Part of our Duty, and Temperance an *Enemy* to Government?

230. He is a *Judas* that will get Money by any Thing.

231. To *wink* at a Trade that effeminates the People, and invades the Ancient Discipline of the Kingdom, is a Crime Capital, and to be severely punish'd instead of being *excused* by the *Magistrate.*

232. Is there no *better* Employment for the Poor than *Luxury? Miserable Nation!*

233. What did they before they fell into these *forbidden* Methods? Is there not Land enough in *England* to Cultivate, and more and better Manufactures to be Made?

234. Have we no Room for them in our *Plantations,* about Things that may augment *Trade,* without Luxury?

235. In short, let *Pride pay,* and *Excess* be *well Excised:* And if that will *Cure* the People, it will *help to Keep the Kingdom.*

THE VAIN MAN

236. But a *Vain* Man is a *Nauseous* Creature: He is so *full* of *himself* that he has *no Room* for any Thing else, be it never so Good or Deserving.

237. 'Tis *I* at every turn that *does* this, or *can* do that. And as he abounds in his *Comparisons,* so he is sure to give himself the *better* of *every Body* else; according to the Proverb, *All his Geese are Swans.*

238. They are certainly to be pity'd that can be so much *mistaken* at *Home.*

239. And yet I have sometimes thought that such People are in a sort Happy, that nothing can put *out of Countenance* with themselves, though they neither have nor merit other Peoples.

240. But at the same Time one would wonder they should not *feel* the Blows they give themselves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous *Temper;* nor shew any Concern at that which makes others *blush* for, as well as at them, *(viz.)* their *unreasonable* Assurance.

241. To be a Man's *own* Fool is bad enough, but the Vain Man is *Every Body's.*

242. This silly Disposition comes of a Mixture of *Ignorance, Confidence,* and *Pride;* and as there is more or less of the last, so it is more or less offensive or Entertaining.

243. And yet perhaps the worst Part of this Vanity is it's *Unteachableness.* Tell it any Thing, and it has known it long ago; and out-runs Information and Instruction, or else proudly *puffs* at it.

244. Whereas the greatest Understandings doubt most, are readiest to learn, and least pleas'd with themselves; this, with *no Body else.*

245. For tho' they stand on *higher* Ground, and so see *farther* than their Neighbours, they are yet *humbled* by their Prospect, since it shews them something, *so much higher* and above their Reach.

246. And truly then it is, that Sense shines with the greatest Beauty when it is set in *Humility.*

247. An *humble* able Man is a *Jewel* worth a Kingdom: It is often saved by him, as *Solomon's Poor Wise Man* did the City.

248. May we have more of *them,* or less *Need* of them.

THE CONFORMIST

249. It is reasonable to concur where Conscience does not forbid a Compliance; for Conformity is at least a Civil Virtue.

250. But we should only press it in *Necessaries,* the rest may prove a *Snare* and Temptation to *break* Society.

251. But above all, it is a *Weakness* in Religion and Government, where it is carried to Things of an Indifferent Nature, since besides that it makes Way for Scruples, Liberty is always the *Price* of it.

252. Such Conformists have little to *boast* of, and therefore the less Reason to Reproach others that have more Latitude.

253. And yet the *Latitudinarian* that I love, is one that is only so in Charity; for the Freedom I recommend is no *Scepticism* in Judgment, and much less so in Practice.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF GREAT MEN TO ALMIGHTY GOD

254. It seems but reasonable, that those whom God has *Distinguish'd* from others; by his *Goodness,* should distinguish themselves to him by their *Gratitude.*

255. For tho' he has made of *One* Blood all Nations, he has not rang'd or dignified them upon the *Level,* but in a sort of Subordination and Dependency.

256. If we look upwards, we find it in the Heavens, where the *Planets* have their several Degrees of Glory, and so the other *Stars* of Magnitude and Lustre.

257. If we look upon the Earth, we see it among the *Trees* of the Wood, from the *Cedar* to the *Bramble;* in the *Waters* among the *Fish,* from the *Leviathan* to the *Sprat;* in the *Air* among the *Birds,* from the *Eagle* to the *Sparrow;* among the *Beasts,* from the *Lyon* to the *Cat;* and among *Mankind* it self, from the *King* to the *Scavenger.*

258. Our Great Men, doubtless, were designed by the *Wise* Framer of the World for our *Religious, Moral* and *Politick* Planets; for *Lights* and *Directions* to the lower Ranks of the numerous Company of their own Kind, both in Precepts and Examples; and they are well paid for their Pains too, who have the Honour and Service of their fellow Creatures, and the *Marrow* and *Fat* of the Earth for their Share.

259. But is it not a most unaccountable Folly, that Men should be *Proud* of the Providences that should *Humble* them? Or think the Better of themselves, instead of *Him* that raised them so much above the Level; or in being so in their Lives, in Return of his Extraordinary Favours.

260. But it is but too near *a-kin* to us, to think no further than *our selves,* either in the *Acquisition,* or *Use* of our Wealth and Greatness; when, alas, they are the *Preferments of Heaven,* to try our *Wisdom,* Bounty and Gratitude.

261. 'Tis a dangerous Perversion of the End of Providence to *Consume* the *Time, Power* and *Wealth* he has given us above other Men, to gratify our *Sordid Passions,* instead of playing the good Stewards, to the Honour of our great Benefactor, and the Good of our Fellow-Creatures.

262. But it is an Injustice too; since those Higher Ranks of Men are but the *Trustees* of Heaven for the Benefit of lesser Mortals, who, as *Minors,* are intituled to all their Care and Provision.

263. For though God has dignified some Men above their Brethren, it never was to serve their Pleasures, but that they might take Pleasure to serve the Publick.

264. For this Cause doubtless it was, that they were raised above Necessity or any Trouble to Live, that they might have more Time and Ability to Care for Others: And 'tis certain, where that *Use* is not made of the Bounties of Providence, they are *Imbezzell'd* and Wasted.

265. It has often struck me with a serious Reflection, when I have observed the great Inequality of the World; that *one* Man should have *such Numbers* of his fellow Creatures to *Wait* upon him, who have Souls to be saved as well as he; and this not for Business, but *State.* Certainly a poor Employment of his Money; and a worse of their Time.

266. But that any one Man should make Work for so many; or rather keep them from *Work,* to make up a *Train,* has a *Levity* and *Luxury* in it very reprovable, both in Religion and Government.

267. But even in allowable Services it has an humbling Consideration, and what should raise the Thankfulness of the Great Men to him that has so much better'd their Circumstances, and *Moderated* the Use of their Dominion over those of their own Kind.

268. When the poor *Indians* hear us call any of our Family by the Name of *Servants,* they cry out, *What, call Brethren Servants!* We call our *Dogs* Servants, but never *Men.* The *Moral* certainly can do us no Harm, but may Instruct us to *abate* our Height, and *narrow* our *State* and Attendance.

269. And what has been said of their Excess, may in some measure be apply'd to other Branches of Luxury, that set *ill Examples* to the lesser World, and *Rob* the Needy of their Pensions.

270. GOD Almighty *Touch* the Hearts of our *Grandees* with a Sense of his *Distinguish'd* Goodness, and that true End of it; that they may better distinguish themselves in their Conduct, to the Glory of Him that has thus liberally Preferr'd them, and the Benefit of their fellow Creatures.

OF REFINING UPON OTHER MEN'S ACTIONS OR INTERESTS

271. This seems to be the *Master-Piece* of our Politicians: But no Body shoots more at *Random,* than those Refiners.

272. A perfect *Lottery,* and meer *Hap-Hazard.* Since the true Spring of the Actions of Men is as *Invisible* as their Hearts; and so are their *Thoughts* too of their several Interests.

273. He that judges of other Men by himself, does not always hit the Mark, because all Men have not the same Capacity, nor *Passions* in Interest.

274. If an *able* Man refines upon the Proceedings of an *ordinary* Capacity, according to his own, he must ever miss it: But much more the ordinary Man, when he shall pretend to speculate the *Motives* to the Able Man's Actions: For the Able Man deceives himself by making t'other wiser than he is in the Reason of his Conduct; and the ordinary Man makes himself so, in presuming to judge of the Reasons of the Abler Man's Actions.

275. 'Tis in short a *Wood,* a *Maze;* and of nothing are we more *uncertain,* nor in any Thing do we oftener *befool* our selves.

276. The Mischiefs are many that follow this Humour, and dangerous: For Men *Misguide* themselves, act upon *false Measures,* and meet frequently with *mischievous Disappointments.*

277. It excludes all *Confidence* in Commerce; allows of no such Thing as a *Principle* in Practice; supposes every Man to act upon other Reasons than what appears, and that there is no such Thing as a *Straightness* or *Sincerity* among Mankind: A Trick instead of Truth.

278. Neither, allowing Nature or Religion; but some Worldly Fetch or Advantage: The true, the hidden Motive to all Men to act or do.

279. 'Tis hard to express its *Uncharitableness,* as well as *Uncertainty;* and has more of *Vanity* than Benefit in it.

280. This Foolish Quality gives a large Field, but let what I have said serve for this Time.

OF CHARITY

281. Charity has various Senses, but is *Excellent* in all of them.

282. It imports; first, the *Commisseration* of the Poor, and Unhappy of Mankind, and extends an *Helping-Hand* to mend their Condition.

283. They that feel nothing of this, are at best not above *half* of Kin to Human Race; since they must have *no Bowels,* which makes such an *Essential* Part thereof, who have no more Nature.

284. A Man, and yet not have the Feeling of the *Wants* or *Needs* of his own Flesh and Blood! A *Monster* rather! And may he never be suffer'd to propagate such an unnatural Stock in the *World.*

285. Such an Uncharitableness *spoils* the best Gains, and two to one but it entails a Curse upon the Possessors.

286. Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our *Prayers,* that turn the *deaf Ear* to the Petitions of the Distressed amongst our fellow Creatures.

287. God sends the Poor to *try* us, as well as he tries them by being such: And he that refuses them a little out of the great deal that God has given him, *Lays up Poverty* in Store for his own Posterity.

288. I will not say these Works are *Meritorious,* but dare say they are *Acceptable,* and go not without their Reward: Tho' to Humble us in our Fulness and Liberality too, we only Give but what is given us to *Give* as well as use; for if we are *not our own,* less is *that so* which God has intrusted us with.

289. Next, CHARITY makes the *best* Construction of *Things* and *Persons,* and is so far from being an evil Spy, a Back-biter, or a Detractor, that it *excuses Weakness, extenuates* Miscarriages, makes the *best* of every Thing; forgives *every Body*, serves *All,* and hopes to the *End.*

290. It *moderates* Extreams, is always for *Expediences, labours* to *accommodate* Differences, and had rather *Suffer* than Revenge: And so far from Exacting the *utmost Farthing,* that it had rather *lose* than seek her Own *Violently.*

291. As it acts Freely, so, *Zealously* too; but 'tis always to *do Good,* for it hurts *no Body.*

292. An *Universal Remedy* against Discord, and an Holy *Cement* for Mankind.

293. And *lastly,* 'Tis *Love to God and the Brethren,* which raises the Soul *above* all worldly Considerations; and, as it gives a *Taste* of Heaven *upon* Earth, so 'tis *Heaven* in the Fulness of it hereafter to the truly Charitable here.

294. This is the *Noblest* Sense Charity has, after which all should press, as that more Excellent *Way.*

295. Nay, *most* Excellent; for as *Faith, Hope* and *Charity* were the more Excellent *Way* that Great Apostle discovered to the *Christians,* (too apt to stick in *Outward Gifts* and *Church Performances)* so of that better *Way* he preferred *Charity* as the *best* Part, because it would *out-last* the rest, and abide for ever.

296. Wherefore a Man can never be a true and good *Christian* without Charity, even in the lowest Sense of it: And yet he may have that Part thereof, and still be none of the Apostle's *true Christian,* since he tells us, That tho' we should give all our Goods to the Poor, and *want Charity* (in her other and higher Senses) *it would profit us nothing.*

297. Nay, tho' we had *All Tongues, All Knowledge,* and even *Gifts* of *Prophesy,* and were *Preachers* to *others;* ay, and had Zeal enough to *give* our *Bodies to be burned,* yet if we *wanted Charity,* it would not avail us for Salvation.

298. It seems it was his (and indeed ought to be our) *Unum Necessarium,* or the One Thing Needful, which our Saviour attributed to *Mary* in *Preference* to her Sister *Martha,* that seems not to have wanted the lesser Parts of Charity.

299. Would God this Divine Virtue were more *implanted* and *diffused* among Mankind, the *Pretenders* to *Christianity* especially, and we should certainly mind *Piety more than Controversy,* and *Exercise Love and Compassion instead of Censuring and Persecuting one another in any Manner whatsoever.*

PENNSBURY MANOR WAS PLANNED AND BEGUN BY WILLIAM PENN, AS HIS COUNTRY HOME IN 1683, WITH MANOR HOUSE, ESSENTIAL OUTBUILDINGS, STABLE, LAWN AND GARDENS BEAUTIFULLY LAID OUT. REMOTE FROM THE YOUNG CITY AFTER THE PROPRIETOR'S FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND IN 1701, ITS FURNITURE WAS SCATTERED AND IT FELL INTO COMPLETE DISREPAIR. EXCAVATIONS WERE MADE, STUDIES INSTITUTED, ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS CAREFULLY WORKED OUT AND RESTORATION WAS BEGUN IN 1938, UNDER THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

A Visit to Pennsbury Brings Back the Home Setting of the Founder and Proprietor as Nothing Else Can Do. Pennsbury Is Conveniently Reached by U. S. Route 13 Through Bristol and Tullytown, Then Following Signs. The Distance from Philadelphia City Hall to Pennsbury Is About Thirty Miles. This Map Is Contributed for the William Penn Tercentenary Memorial Book by THE WELCOME SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, Whose Members Are Descendants of "Those Who Came to America in the Good Ship WELCOME in Company with William Penn the Founder of Pennsylvania, Who Arrived in October, 1682."

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